PROGRAMMATIC PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA

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PART ONE

ROOTS, NATURE AND WORK OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

I. HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

The victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959 was a response, not only to a demand set forth by the neocolonial conditions our people had to bear for the almost 57 years of the pseudo-republic, but also to an objective of the Cuban nation dating from colonial times, frustrated after our wars of independence by the conspiracy of US imperialism and the *criollo* oligarchy .

Already by 1867 the process of formation of the Cuban nationality had matured, and both the contradiction between the colony and the metropolis, which was in the foreground, and that between the requirements for the devel-

opment of the rising productive forces and the persistence of the still predominant slave production relations, had greatly sharpened.

The slave-owning class of the Cuban landowners —with its bourgeois features and manifestations— faced a deep crisis, without solution under Spanish rule. On the one hand, the world economic crisis of 1857 and later that of 1866 had seriously affected the country's economy by causing a drop of sugar prices, as well as a rise of interest rates and the almost total suppression of credits, this at a time when an intense investment process was demanded to introduce modern technology into sugar production. On the other, the Crown was ceaselessly raising taxes, keeping Cuba as a mere source of fiscal income and as a market to obtain, by a rigid tariff wall, fabulous commercial profits, all of which brought about the bankruptcy of sugar-cane and coffee planters. That situation and that policy hindered the independent economic development of the Island, frustrating its industrial development. The Cubans were, moreover, deprived of practically all political rights and lacked the most elementary democratic liberties.

But the peasants, the artisans and the rest of the urban petty bourgeoisie, the salaried workers and, above all, the great mass of 360,000 slaves suffered even more severely from economic exploitation and political oppression by Spain.

The principal beneficiaries of that rapacious colonial policy were the Spanish Crown, represented by the leaders of the political and military machinery in the Island; the importing merchant bourgeoisie, made up almost completely of Spaniards, and the plague of officials, employees, etc.,who lived off the colony's budget and the exactions with which they harassed the *criollo* producers.

Having confirmed that to each demand for reforms, the metropolis would respond by intensifying its exploitation and oppression, the most radical, advanced and patriotic sections of wealthy Cubans realized that the only solution favorable to their interests —which coincided with the general interests of the nation— was the independence of Cuba, and that it could not be achieved without waging a patriotic liberation war, nor without abolishing slavery, whose victims, in preceding decades, had heroically struggled and shed their blood for freedom.

Thus, under the leadership of the most radical representatives of the Cuban landowners, backed by the rest of the classes and strata who felt colonial and social spoliation on their own backs, mainly the great mass of peasants and artisans from the eastern and central parts of the Island, made up mostly of free blacks and mulattoes, as well as by the mass of slaves, who thereby obtained their freedom, the first great war for our national liberation

started in 1868 —having Carlos Manuel de Céspedes and Ignacio Agramonte as its most prominent figures. A role of great significance was played already at this stage of the struggle by the Dominican patriot General Máximo Gómez, an outstanding example of an internationalist revolutionary.

This revolution of a bourgeois, democratic and anti-slavery character led to the consolidation of the Cuban nation, served as a school in which revolutionaries gathered experience for future struggles, and contributed to the abolition of slavery in 1886.

After a dedicated struggle that lasted ten years, and not before the staunch resistance to a peace without independence evidenced during the heroic Protestation of Baraguá, led by the mulatto peasant General Antonio Maceo, a representative of the popular classes that had been playing an increasingly important role in this liberation war until they assumed the leadership in its final stage, there followed an uneasy truce, shaken by some frustrated attempts at rebellion, followed by the well-organized rebellion of 1895.

At the beginning of this new armed stage of our struggles for independence, the main contradiction was the same as that of 1868: colony versus metropolis; and the immediate objective was also the same: to win national independence. But the structure and class

contradictions within Cuban society had undergone significant changes and the social basis of the national-liberation movement had changed, broadened and become more radical and, consequently, the programmatic objectives of a social nature were different, much wider and more advanced.

The majority of the big landowners had been ruined because of two major reasons: the war, especially in the eastern provinces, and the concentration and centralization of production, accompanied by an intense process of confiscation and embargoes, especially in sugar production. Part of those landholders, owners of sugar mills, became sugar-cane growers or middle peasants, while those who survived bankruptcy, mainly located in the western part of the country, increased their economic power.

The workers, particularly in the agricultural sector, had substantially increased in number when slavery was abolished and had been shaping their class consciousness. With Havana's industrial development, the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat was reaching a certain significance, mainly in this province. The ranks of the peasantry had also grown notably, as well as those of the artisans, professionals and the rest of the urban petty bourgeoisie.

José Martí, who was the guide and organizer of the new war of emancipation, devoted his initial efforts to uniting all the classes and sections interested in achieving national liberation. He brought together the Cubans who had emigrated, he organized the first Cuban revolutionary party to struggle for independence and for a democratic republic, and he elaborated an arsenal of advanced ideas, which would serve as a banner not only for the revolutionaries of his time, but also for those of succeeding generations.

Leadership in the new war was exercised by representatives of radical sections of the middle strata of Cuban society, whose interests coincided with the general interests of the nation and of the working classes and strata.

In this revolution of a democratic revolutionary character and for national liberation, the objective of independence for its principal leaders meant the liberation of the country not only from Spanish colonialism, but also from the threat of upsurging US imperialism. Economically, socially and politically, the struggle was now directed against dependence on a single product and a single market, against the great economic inequalities, and for racial equality and a democratic and progressive republic.

The bourgeoisie and the native big landowners turned their backs, as a class, to the inde-

pendence movement and sought a compromise with the government of the metropolis on the basis of autonomy in order to avoid the possibility of a popular victory in the war. The working class, unlike what had happened in the previous war and despite its still reduced number, now played an important role, particularly in emigration. In the Island, the First Workers Congress in 1892 agreed to pronounce itself in favor of national independence. In emigration, the workers constituted a majority in the Cuban Revolutionary Party and were the principal support of its struggle, and thus they greatly influenced Martí's ideas. The Cuban proletarian nuclei in emigration had already acquired a remarkable organizational level and class consciousness. Some of their leaders had embraced Marxist ideas, such as Carlos Baliño, a tobacco worker and Martí's companion in founding the Party and in his revolutionary activity. Peasants and agricultural workers —for the most part former slaves— constituted the mainstay of the Liberation Army.

But this war, despite the victorious campaigns of Cuban arms, which led to the defeat of Spanish colonialism and to a relative step forward in our historical process, did not achieve true national independence and still less the democratic and progressive republic for which our *mambises* had fought. The intervention of US imperialism snatched victory from our people. This danger had already been

denounced by our most far-sighted leaders, above all by José Martí.

The dominant interests in the United States had always coveted Cuba. They unsuccessfully tried to acquire it by different means, including purchase from Spain. They started to develop commercial relations with our country, and by 1878 they controlled our foreign trade. It was then that they started making investments in Cuba. In 1897 they tried once more to purchase our country from the Spanish metropolis. In 1898 they carried out the mock attack on the *US Maine* to justify the intervention of their armed forces in the struggle, thus beginning the first imperialist war. Finally, through the Paris Agreement, concerted without the participation of the Cubans, who for 30 years had struggled for their independence, they managed to have Cuba handed over to them together with Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and the island of Guam.

US military occupation offered Yankee monopolies the possibility of realizing their aspirations of dominating the Island. After the death of two of the most radical leaders of the war —Martí and Maceo—, after the demobilization of the Liberation Army through a perfidious maneuver, and in spite of our people's resistance, the imperialist intervention succeeded in imposing itself and paved the way for turning the former Spanish colony into a semi-colony of the United States. During the

four years of occupation, the basis for that change was created, and, on leaving the Island, Yankee troops ensured their legal right to intervene in Cuba whenever they thought it fitting, by means of an appendix to the Constitution, the Platt Amendment. At the same time they secured special rights to build coaling stations and the Naval Base at Guantánamo Bay. Thus, 1902 marked the beginning of almost 57 years of the pseudo-republic, during which the USA exerted true control of our economic, political and cultural life, penetrated the educational field, dominated the mass media and systematically worked to deform our people's conscience.

Capitalist production relations developed, but in conditions of domination by and subordination to the interests of US monopolies. Although this led to a certain growth of our productive forces, it also meant the strengthening and consolidation of the deformed structure of our economy and the aggravation of underdevelopment. These conditions set the premises for the rapid manifestation of the contradiction between the demands of the development of the productive forces and the production relations, now capitalist with semi-feudal traits and with the rest of the features that characterize them in countries dominated by imperialism.

The deforming action of imperialist penetration in Cuba was the framework within which

the various social classes of the country as well as their historical positions throughout the neocolonial republic developed.

In order to carry forward its economic penetration and its domination over the country's political life, imperialism needed and obtained the collaboration of classes and groups through which it exerted its domination. This role was played by a triad of social forces, which constituted the ruling oligarchy: the latifundists, the big sugar-industry bourgeoisie and the big importing merchant bourgeoisie. The interests of these three forces were intimately linked to imperialism and, to maintain their domination, they had to prevent the elimination of latifundism, the country's industrial development, the diversification of the economy, and any possible change in our neocolonial status. Hence the role of a retrograde nature that they permanently played as well as their constant betrayal of the nation.

The industrial bourgeoisie not linked to the sugar industry —which we may consider our "national bourgeoisie"— was objectively interested in breaking the neocolonial structure to achieve its development; but its puny efforts in this sense were frustrated and, lacking economic power or political courage, it was unable to play, not even hesitantly, a progressive historical role.

The most wealthy section of the agrarian bourgeoisie was partly intermingled with the dominant oligarchy or linked its interests to it, while the middle agrarian bourgeoisie endured difficulties similar to those of the industrial bourgeoisie not linked with the sugar industry.

The great mass of poor and middle peasants, most of whom lived in permanent poverty, developed in conditions characteristic of a neo-colonial country with strong semi-feudal ties. The degree of exploitation to which this mass of peasants was subjected, including those who owned their plots, and the economic insecurity which they suffered instilled in them a spirit of rebelliousness, which made them confront, at times even violently, the ruling oligarchy.

The working class achieved a considerable growth in number and a significant organizational and political development starting in the 1930's. Consistent with its historical role, it constituted the most revolutionary class of our society and the mainstay in the struggles to obtain the radical transformations demanded by our economic, social and political reality.

The urban petty bourgeoisie, which in Cuba was of considerable size, permanently suffered the consequences of exploitation on the part of the oligarchy and of imperialism. It was, in general, very sensitive to the great evils of our country and, despite its natural hesitations

and the reactionary role played by some of its sections, its most radical wing was actively present in all the struggles of our people.

As a result of imperialist domination and of the role of its instrument and ally, the ruling oligarchy, the Republic was characterized by economic backwardness, single-crop agriculture, chronic unemployment, illiteracy, moral decay, political and administrative corruption and the existence of anti-democratic governments, which practiced all forms of robbery and violated the most elementary rights and liberties of the people. One of the most denigrating forms of exploitation and oppression of our people was racial discrimination, inherited from the times of slavery.

To maintain that state of affairs, the ruling oligarchy, more than once resorted to direct intervention by US troops and created a powerful apparatus of repression and terror, although at times it demagogically pretended to respect democratic liberties.

In this situation, which characterized the neocolonial republic, the people did not remain passive. From the beginning of the Republic there were patriotic and revolutionary voices that defended the national interest and the people's interest. The working class, while vigorously struggling for its immediate interests, developed in the struggle against all the evils of the Republic, and, from the first quarter of the century, waged great battles for our

national and social emancipation. The revolutionary students, from the 20's on, always played an outstanding role in the struggle, side by side with the workers and the peasants.

Prominent leaders, some of whom embraced the ideology of the proletariat, came from the radical petty bourgeoisie.

At the beginning of the century, under the inspiration of Carlos Baliño and other Marxist leaders, such as Agustín Martín Veloz (Martinillo), the first Marxist organizations emerged, which denounced the frustration of Martí's ideals and carried out the important work of propagating the ideas of scientific socialism.

The discontent, the struggles and the organization of the workers grew following World War I, with the deepening of US penetration in the economy of Cuba, the intensification of capitalist exploitation and the crisis that hit the country after the war. Already in the 20's, the crisis of the system imposed on our country by imperialist domination was evident in the economic, political and social spheres. And, along with national factors, an event took place which would exert a tremendous influence on the Cuban revolutionary movement: the 1917 glorious October Socialist Revolution in Russia, which ushered in a new epoch in the history of mankind.

A culminating moment in this stage was the creation of the first trade-union central orga-

nization (the National Workers Confederation of Cuba), and the founding, by Julio Antonio Mella and Carlos Baliño, of the first Communist Party of Cuba in 1925. The two programmatic objectives the party of Cuban Communists set forth from the very beginning were the following: first, to reach full national independence and then to set the course for the socialist revolution. In subsequent years, the objectives for this first stage of the Revolution were expressed in the watchword: "For the Agrarian and Anti-Imperialist Revolution!"

In the midst of the great world economic capitalist crisis of the 30's and under the influence of its consequences in the Cuban economy, Machado's tyranny —an instrument of the oligarchy and of imperialism to crush the revolutionary and popular movement— was overthrown after eight years of struggle, in which the *Directorio Estudiantil* and the *Ala Izquierda Estudiantil* and, above all, the Communist Party and the National Workers Confederation of Cuba, led by Rubén Martínez Villena, played an important role. Following reactionary and imperialist maneuvers to bolster up a new puppet in power and after the successful insurrection of Army sergeants and soldiers, a short-lived government was set up, heterogenous in composition, nationalist in nature with certain anti-imperialist perspectives —determined by its left wing headed by the outstanding revolutionary leader Antonio Gui-

teras—, but this "100 days' government" was overthrown and the people's revolutionary process was frustrated.

After the heroic struggles of the working class and the rest of the democratic and anti-imperialist forces, the March 1935 general strike took place, violently crushed and followed by a wave of unbridled terror against the working-class and revolutionary movement. One of the essential causes of this defeat was the lack of unity among the various revolutionary forces.

After the hard blows dealt on the revolutionary movement, a period of great popular struggles followed, favorably influenced by the international situation, which was threatened by the imminent nazi-fascist aggression and by the mobilization of all the world's progressive forces in defense of the Spanish republic.

This situation and the struggles of our people led to the release of political prisoners, the legalization of the Communist Party and other opposition organizations, and the convening of a Constitutional Assembly, which as a result of popular pressure and the militant participation of the Communist delegates, approved the 1940 Constitution, whose contents were of a progressive and advanced nature for its time.

Thus, a stage was ushered in, in which the struggle against rising nazi fascism became the focus of the revolutionary and popular

movements on an international scale. During this stage, the organic unity of the trade unions was brought about and the Confederation of Workers of Cuba (CTC) was founded, led since its creation by Lázaro Peña; a powerful working-class movement developed and the influence and the membership of the Marxist-Leninist party increased. After Hitler Germany's aggression against the Soviet Union in 1941, when the process of transformation of the world war into a just war was consummated, turning it into a patriotic struggle against nazi fascism and for the defense of socialism, our workers honorably fulfilled, to the extent of their naturally limited possibilities and resources, the sacred task of contributing to the victory over nazi fascism, which then constituted mankind's number-one enemy.

After the crushing defeat of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis, US imperialism became the main reactionary force and assumed the role of world gendarme. The so-called "cold war" began, with its manifestations of nuclear blackmail, its offensive against the popular and working-class movement, "witch-hunts", reactionary coups d'état, etc. In Cuba, the imperialists found pliant lackeys in the administrations of Grau and of Prío, who pursued a policy of complete sellout to US monopolies. They reached the highest degrees of systematic robbery and administrative corruption, imposed a

gang on the leadership of the CTC, assaulted trade unions, murdered working-class leaders, including the sugar workers' great leader Jesús Menéndez, unleashed a strong anticommunist offensive, and curtailed the people's democratic rights.

So strong was the people's opposition to the nefarious policy of these corrupt governments that the government politicians faced defeat in the coming 1952 general election.

But imperialism and the most reactionary sections of the native ruling classes, who feared the power of the masses, were unwilling to allow the election of the candidates backed by the national majorities, which would not have meant a revolutionary social change, but would have swept away the gang in power at the moment, thus opening up new perspectives for the struggle.

In view of this possibility, the reactionary military coup of March 10, 1952, took place, the result once more of a compact between imperialism and the bourgeois latifundist oligarchy, which took advantage of the ambitions for power and of the influence within the armed forces of Batista and his clique, unconditional representatives of those interests.

It soon became evident to all the people that the coup would seriously aggravate the country's problems, a fact that had been denounced since the very beginning by the most advanced

and conscious forces. The coup lessened even more the independence and the sovereignty of Cuba; it opened the country's doors for Yankee monopolies to a greater extent; it fostered the interests of Cuban and foreign latifundists; it increased the exploitation of workers, small and middle peasants, low-paid employees, petty merchants, etc.; it aggravated the problem of chronic unemployment of the workers; it favored the increase of profits of the big bourgeois-latifundist enterprises at the expense of the living standards of the masses; it squandered the foreign exchange of our country; it curtailed the few democratic liberties that existed before March 10; it followed the course of corruption and vice of the previous governments, through ransacking the public treasury, embezzling the worker's retirement funds, and political corruption of all sorts. It unleashed the most brutal and bloody wave of terror in Cuba's history. In brief, the coup aggravated to the utmost the contradictions inherent in the neocolonial regime we suffered, and a revolutionary situation was created.

The seriousness of the moment the country was going through demanded the urgent mobilization of the people. But the parties of the bourgeois opposition were incapable of carrying it out. Moreover, their hesitations and the incompetence of their most outstanding representatives, their subordination to the reaction-

ary and anticommunist policy of imperialism made impossible a united front, which could develop an efficient political action against the tyranny. Aware of this situation, Fidel Castro, a young revolutionary whose staunch figure was becoming outstanding on the political scene in our country, arrived at the conclusion that the only way of successfully fighting Batista's regime and all he represented, was by organizing a movement, independent of and alien to the corrupt and pro-imperialist politicians, and by unleashing the people's armed insurrection as the highest form of struggle of the masses.

At the head of a group of young revolutionaries, prominent among whom was Abel Santamaría, he then prepared —as a first step— the attack on the Moncada garrison, the second military fortress of Batista's tyranny, the seizure of which would permit the arming of the people and the creation of a focus of revolutionary struggle.

The assault on the Santiago and the Bayamo garrisons ended in military defeat, but it constituted a fundamental premise for the subsequent revolutionary victory and was extraordinarily significant for the future history of our country. It ushered in a new phase in our people's revolutionary struggles. It singled out Fidel as the inquestionable leader of the revolutionary stage then starting. It became the antecedent of and provided experience for

the days of the *Granma*, of the Sierra and of the underground struggle. It forced the tyranny to take off the mask of "normality" and to expose itself as it actually was: an apparatus capable of resorting to the most cruel crimes and to the most brutal terror. This demonstrated that in those conditions armed action was the fundamental method of struggle.

It was in his historic defense at the trial of the participants in the assault on the Moncada garrison, known as *History Will Absolve Me* —an essential factor which turned the tactical defeat of July 26 into a strategic victory— that Fidel outlined, with a Marxist approach, the popular and advanced program of the movement he headed. This program presented, among others, the most pressing evils which affected the pseudo-republic; it correctly analyzed the factors of the struggle, giving a definition of the concept of the people, which helped to bring together all the classes and sections interested in the struggle against the national oligarchy and imperialism. The fundamental and unavoidable measures that the revolutionary government was to undertake immediately after it seized power were also set forth. This program, as Fidel said, was not socialist. It was an advanced program, it was the highest aspiration which at that moment and within the existing objective and subjective conditions could be set.

While in prison, Fidel and his comrades lay the foundation of the 26 of July Revolutionary Movement. A powerful popular campaign obtained his release and after a short stay in Cuba, during which he corroborated the impossibility of bringing about deep changes in the country's situation through lawful means, they went to Mexico to prepare the armed insurrection, a goal which was attained on December 2, 1956, when the *Granma* landed with her 82 men in Oriente.

At the same time, the people had been preparing for the coming battles. The underground struggle had been organized throughout the Island, an expression of which was the insurrection that took place in Santiago de Cuba on November 30 in support of the landing of the *Granma*, an insurrection in which the heroic figure of Frank País stood out. The united working-class movement carried out mass actions against the offensive of the employers, the government and imperialism, such as the 1955 sugar workers' strike. The students' movement —whose highest symbol is José Antonio Echeverría— and other popular sections waged a constant battle against the repressive forces of the tyranny.

A process of recovery followed the setbacks suffered by the men of the *Granma* immediately after the landing: the number of combatants gradually increased; victorious battles against Batista's troops took place; Fidel's

prestige and that of the guerrilla movement augmented tremendously. This movement developed into the Rebel Army, the main factor in the defeat of the tyranny and in the establishment of revolutionary power.

Thus, less than six years after the historic assault on the Moncada garrison, after ceaseless and heroic battles in the Sierra and in the plains, after repelling and destroying the last offensive of the tyranny, when the Rebel Army assumed the strategic initiative, which it maintained up to the end of the struggle, after the heroic invasion of Camilo and Che, and after a sweeping offensive of the Rebel Army, Batista's tyranny collapsed on January 1, 1959. The categorical order of continuing the offensive to the end, given by Fidel to the Rebel Army, and the vigorous and unanimous January general strike, called by Fidel, prevented imperialism from once again frustrating the people's triumph and ensured the victory of the Revolution.

Historically, this victory of January 1 meant the end of four and a half centuries of colonial and neocolonial domination, of the oppression of the working masses and of all the people, of hunger, unemployment, discrimination, abuse, crime and ignorance, once and for all.

It was the victorious Revolution that finally fulfilled the imperative of full national independence, which had led the *mambises* of Yara

and Baire to the battlefields and which remained the main objective of Cuban revolutionaries throughout the pseudo-republic. It was the Cuban Revolution that met the needs, in the conditions of our times, for true democracy and social justice, which had moved the poor classes and sections of Cuba in the last century, inspired the advanced program of Martí, Gómez, and Maceo in 1895, encouraged the struggles of our people in this century, and which had been snatched away from the people once and again after the Yankeé intervention, after the failure of the 1933 popular revolution and up to the twilight of Batista's tyranny. And it was also our Revolution that undertook a task not present under the conditions of the colony and of the early years of the Republic, a task that had been emerging as an objective of the revolutionary movement since the 30's and that in the 50's became a pressing historical need intimately linked to the democratic and national-liberation struggle: the task of liberating the working class from capitalist exploitation, of achieving the final emancipation of the oppressed and exploited, in brief, of carrying out the socialist transformation of society.

Having fulfilled the objective of national independence, having carried out the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution proclaimed by the Cuban revolutionaries of the 30's, and having made the Moncada program a reality, our

Revolution strives to eliminate underdevelopment, to lay the foundation of socialism and firmly marches on toward the construction of classless society, of the communist society of the future.

II. NATURE OF THE EPOCH IN WHICH THE CUBAN REVOLUTION DEVELOPS

International Situation at the Moment of the Victory of the Cuban Revolution

The transition of the capitalist mode of production to its imperialist stage implied the extreme aggravation of all the contradictions of capitalism, not only within each individual country but also among the imperialist powers themselves.

The struggle for sales markets and sources of raw materials, for achieving better conditions for capital investment and for the exploitation of abundant and cheap labor began in an already partitioned world.

Uneven economic development brought about rapid and violent changes in the correlation of forces among the countries which aspired to world supremacy, generating the need for new partitions; clashes and conflicts became inevitable, and World War I was unleashed.

In this historical situation, Russia turned out to be the weakest link in the imperialist chain.

The existing objective conditions were complemented by the clear-sighted leadership and consistently revolutionary, determined action of the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin.

The victory of the 1917 October Socialist Revolution marked the beginning of a new epoch in the history of mankind, which had the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism as its fundamental content.

The division of the world into two diametrically opposed social systems —the main feature of the general crisis of capitalism— gave rise to the fundamental contradiction of our epoch: that between the socialist system, which advances and develops, and the capitalist system, decadent and bound to disappear.

The victory of the Revolution in Russia ushered in a period of upsurge for the revolutionary forces in various parts of the world and for the development of the struggle in colonies and dependent countries, thus beginning the process of disruption of the colonial system of imperialism, which constitutes another feature of the general crisis of capitalism.

World War I did not —and could not— eliminate the causes of the uneven economic development of capitalism. The need for a new partition of the world and, consequently, the utmost aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions appeared once more.

At the same time, the existence of the USSR, which had repelled all attempts to destroy it and was advancing in the building of a new society, was a matter of concern to the most aggressive representatives of international finance capital.

In this situation, the ruling circles of the imperialist countries did not hesitate to promote Germany's economic and military revival, to contribute to the victory of nazism and to encourage the "Eastward drive" in the hope that this would crush the first socialist country in the world.

Their predictions failed. The Soviet Union became the main bastion in the struggle against fascism, carrying the main burden in the battles of World War II and saving humanity from the horrors of fascism.

The rout of fascism, in which the USSR played the decisive role, created favorable conditions for the victorious culmination of the people's struggle in various European and Asian countries, which, in breaking away from the capitalist system and beginning socialist transformations, made possible the turning of socialism into a world system, a fundamental feature in the new stage of the general crisis of capitalism.

World War II heightened the crisis of the colonial system of imperialism, which became evident in the intensification of the liberation

struggles and in the emergence of national states with different degrees of independence.

There was a general weakening of the capitalist system and an aggravation of its internal contradictions. The loss of its control over a large number of countries intensified the struggle among imperialist monopolies for markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence. To compensate for their losses and to keep their profits, they had to step up internal exploitation and that of the peoples in the countries still under their domination.

At the same time, there was a strengthening of US imperialism at the expense of the rest of the imperialist powers; thus, US imperialism became the stronghold of world reaction.

In the new historical context, US monopoly circles did not conceal their ambitions of achieving world domination. They proclaimed the policy "from positions of strength". The "cold war", atomic blackmail and aggressive military pacts came into being.

The United States provoked the imperialist war against the Korean people. It engaged in an unbridled arms drive and stepped up the construction of military bases directed against the USSR and the other socialist countries. International relations worsened in this period.

Nevertheless, imperialists could no longer act with impunity. There was the world socialist system, achieving considerable successes in the economic and military fields, practicing a consistent internationalist policy and setting an example to the peoples of the world. Socialism, the international working class and the national-liberation movement combined their forces and firmly opposed imperialist designs.

In the war they started against the Korean people the US imperialists were defeated after three years —1950-1953— of hard fighting, by the heroic resistance of the people and the powerful solidarity of the socialist camp, the United States failing to achieve its total objectives of conquest in the area.

The struggle for national liberation against French imperialist oppression continued in Vietnam. In 1954, the patriotic forces attained the decisive victory of Dien Bien Phu and put an end to the colonialism imposed by France.

The same year, Algeria began its successful liberation war against the same French imperialism supported by NATO.

Those were three events in the development of the revolutionary struggle which made evident the increasing strength of the forces opposed to imperialism. However, imperialism is still strong and in a position to attain temporary successes that constitute transient setbacks for the world revolutionary movement.

Such was the case of Guatemala, where the nationalist, democratic and socially progressive government of Jacobo Arbenz confronted US monopolies. Yankee intervention was able to frustrate the development of this process with the utilization of mercenaries and the complicity of its OAS puppets.

But the important changes taking place in the world correlation of forces continued and were evident when, in 1956, imperialist aggression against Egypt was driven back by internal resistance and determined international solidarity, particularly the vigorous stand taken by the Soviet Union and the socialist camp.

Similarly, the counterrevolutionary actions unleashed by internal and external reactionary forces in Hungary in 1956 were crushed by the Hungarian people with the support of the international working class and especially with the direct assistance of the Soviet Union, thus preventing the restoration of capitalism in the country and a subsequent weakening of the socialist camp.

At the end of the 50's it became evident that qualitative changes had taken place in the world arena.

The growing international power and influence of the world socialist system, the developing decay process of the colonial system in the face of the upsurging national-liberation movement, the heightening class struggles in

the capitalist world and the marked incapacity of the world capitalist system to resolve its internal contradictions are evidence of a change in favor of the forces fighting imperialism and of the fact that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of mankind.

It was at this historical moment that the victory of the Cuban Revolution, which ushered in a new period in the struggles of Latin America, took place.

The structural transformations undertaken by the Revolutionary Government stirred up resistance and hatred on the part of Yankee imperialism, which attempted to paralyze and destroy the process under way.

The refusal to refine oil from the USSR and the cutting off of oil supplies to Cuba, the suppression of the sugar quota, the total economic blockade, the slander campaign against the Cuban Revolution, diplomatic pressure, the support to internal counterrevolution, the utilization of the Guantánamo Bay Naval Base snatched from our country as a center of attacks and provocations, the organization of assassination attempts and sabotage and the creation and equipment of groups of bandits were part of the arsenal of aggression against Cuba.

The failure of such means due to the determined and firm stand of the Cuban people and

of its revolutionary leadership, to the prompt, decisive and fraternal assistance of the socialist countries, particularly the USSR, and to the solidarity of the peoples of the world, led the US government to organize the mercenary invasion of April 1961 to crush the Revolution. However, Playa Girón became the first military defeat of imperialism in Latin America.

In its persistent efforts to crush the Cuban Revolution, imperialism very seriously considered resorting to direct aggression. The steps taken in this direction led to the 1962 October Crisis, which ultimately resulted in the United States' commitment not to invade our country. This, together with the development of the military strength of the Revolution, the support of the Soviet Union and the course of events in Indochina unfavorable to US imperialism, where it engaged the bulk of its forces and resources, prevented a direct intervention against our people and signified a victory for the forces of socialism.

Imperialism underestimated the heroic resistance and fighting spirit of the Cuban working class and people. It did not take into account the historical epoch in which the Revolution was taking place, or the changes that had occurred in the world correlation of forces, expressed specifically in the October Crisis and generally in the existence and development of the Revolution itself.

Internal revolutionary unity and determination and the international solidarity of the peoples of the world, of the socialist countries, and especially of the Soviet Union with its economic, political, military and technical contribution, made it possible to defeat the acts of military aggression launched or encouraged by the United States, to overcome the consequences of the economic blockade, to create the conditions that have assured the steady development of our economy and made the Cuban Revolution an irreversible social fact.

Present International Situation

The present international situation is characterized by the steadily growing power and influence of the world socialist system, the progress made by the international communist and working-class movement in the rest of the world, the successes of the national-liberation movement, the favorable changes toward international détente and the general weakening of the positions of world imperialism. The main contradiction of our times between socialism and capitalism continues to develop in favor of the revolutionary forces. The overall crisis of capitalism is becoming more serious, reaffirming the bankruptcy of the social, political and ideological structure of imperialism and the moral decay of capitalist society.

The world capitalist system is going through a deepening and sharpening of all its contra-

dictions. The increasing concentration of production and capital and the development of state monopoly capitalism heighten the main contradiction of capitalism. Within each imperialist country the opposition of interests between the monopolies and the rest of the nation is added to the antagonism between capital and labor. Inter-imperialist rivalries for markets and spheres of influence increase, especially among the main power centers of today's capitalist world: the United States, which is losing its relative weight in the world economy; the European Economic Community (Common Market), affected by deep internal contradictions, and Japan. There is growing antagonism between the imperialist powers and underdeveloped countries, which are defending their interests against the voracity of colonialist or neocolonialist metropolises by creating common organizations and coordinating the production and sale of their products so as to properly respond to the imperialist policy and counteract the consequences of an unequal exchange, which dooms them to backwardness and exploitation.

At present, the capitalist world is going through the worst economic crisis in the last forty years, which affects its citadels and is interwoven with the decay of their international monetary system, with energy and raw materials problems, with rising unemployment and spiraling inflation, which in recent years,

for the first time, coincide with economic stagnation.

The imperialist monopolies are trying to saddle the underdeveloped countries with the consequences of the present world economic situation of capitalism, thus worsening the contradictions between imperialism and these countries even more.

But, despite the general weakening of imperialism and of the capitalist system as a whole, it is necessary to bear in mind that its aggressive and exploiting essence has not changed, nor has the reactionary nature of its policy. Imperialism keeps trying, by every possible means, to weaken the positions and influence of socialism, to hinder the development of the national-liberation movement, to paralyze the development of the actions of the working class in the capitalist countries, to recover its lost positions and to halt the growing process of deterioration corroding the capitalist world.

Unlike this situation of the capitalist system, the socialist countries, based on their common socio-economic system, their ideology and their main objectives, constitute a world system in which there are no economic crises and in which a new type of international relations is developing, based on the full equality of rights of all its members, respect for the sovereignty, independence and interests of each country, mutual assistance and fraternal and

reciprocal cooperation, where no one has, nor can have, any special rights or privileges.

On this basis new forms of economic relations have been established, aimed at combining the interests of each country with those of the whole system by means of the socialist international division of labor, specialization and cooperation so that each and every one of the socialist countries should have the possibility of making full use of its resources and potentialities. Thus, they can ensure their continuous development and contribute to the favorable development of the system as a whole.

A result of the progress achieved and of the growing ties among the countries of the socialist community is the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), which represents a higher stage in their relations. Within this organization economic integration develops with sound perspectives, free from the contradictions affecting the attempts of the capitalist world along these lines.

In a short period of time, the world socialist system has proved its complete superiority over the capitalist system in all sectors of social life and has become the decisive factor in the course of events of contemporary society. History has proved that only socialism is capable of solving the vital problems of mankind.

The fundamental nature of the contribution of the world socialist system to the common cause of the forces confronting imperialism in the struggle for freedom, independence, social progress and peace stems, to a great extent, from its growing economic and military power.

This power and the consistent practice of proletarian internationalism are a guarantee for each socialist country against possible direct aggression by imperialism; they make possible increasing assistance to the revolutionary movement, the creation of favorable conditions to broaden the world anti-imperialist front and the drawing of new countries into the construction of socialism.

An analysis of the realities of today's world confirms the fact that the main content, direction and specific features of historical development are determined by the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism and for the socialist transformation of society.

Under the present conditions, the fundamental class contradiction of the capitalist mode of production heightens considerably while the struggle of the international working class takes on new dimensions. Together with the increasing struggles to defend its economic and political interests, this widens the possibilities for creating a broad front to unite all those fighting for democracy and socialism, and the

role of the international working class in the world arena grows day by day.

At present, the international working class, whose major achievement is the world socialist system, includes experienced vanguard detachments organized in the Communist parties of the various countries making up the international communist movement, the most influential political force in world developments, based on the experience and cooperation of the socialist countries.

In the conditions created by the development of the world socialist system and the struggles of the international working-class movement the forces of the national-liberation movement have attained great triumphs.

The crushing victory of the glorious Vietnamese people over US economic and military power is a permanent lesson of what the peoples are capable of when they are determined to fight for their independence, and it shows the importance and significance which international solidarity and the support of the socialist camp acquire at present.

The decay of the colonial system of imperialism has heightened to the extreme, and the recent liberation of the Portuguese colonies has dealt a crushing blow on colonialism in its classical pattern.

However, in spite of the victories achieved, there are still in the world remnants of colo-

nialism in its most cruel form, as is the case of Puerto Rico, and these stigmas must be removed from the political map of the world. The same position must be taken against the still strong neocolonialism, which is practiced, encouraged and supported mainly by Yankee imperialism.

In the Middle East, the US policy of using the Zionist state of Israel as a means of checking the liberation process of the Arab countries and of maintaining or regaining the control of their enormous wealth through war and the genocide of the Palestinian people has not attained its purposes. However, this policy has not been given up; it hinders a real solution to the problems and worsens the potential danger of war in the area, which is, at present, one of the most critical in the world.

Latin America is experiencing moments of upgrowth in the struggle against imperialist domination, influenced by the achievements of the Cuban Revolution and the present international situation, and various processes making the crisis of imperialist domination evident are under way.

The contradiction between the historical interests of Latin America and those of US imperialism is irreconcilable. As a result, not only does opposition to imperialist policy arise within the working class, the peasants and the intelligentsia, but at present several govern-

ments —some of which represent the bourgeoisie— refuse to continue accepting systematic plunder by imperialism and its transnational companies, adopt nationalist postures, translated into nationalization of enterprises and the recovery of natural resources, and are ready to organize the coordinated defense of Latin American economies.

In spite of the varying class content and popular participation in the various existing movements, a new reality breaks through: there are mounting possibilities of constituting democratic governments, which, by adopting resolute positions in defense of national interests and by practicing an independent foreign policy and solidarity with other peoples, come into conflict with imperialism and the oligarchy allied to it.

The English-speaking countries of the Caribbean are actively involved in the struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism by adopting progressive positions within the Latin American community.

Several governments have challenged the OAS agreements and reestablished relations with Cuba. This has led, ultimately, to a majority agreement within that organization, leaving it up to the member countries to reestablish or not their relations with our country. At the same time, the United States has been forced to partially lift the blockade against Cuba, a

blockade which it still maintains in its essential aspects.

In this Latin American context, the vanguard detachments of the working class, the Communist parties of Latin America, are growing, becoming stronger and more united, and establishing a common policy for the area.

In the course of this struggle, in which a principal role is being played by the working class and the peasants, anti-imperialist and patriotic organizations are becoming stronger, new social forces are rising, broadening the basis of the revolutionary movement. Strong movements, which play a progressive and even revolutionary role, are appearing and developing within the church and the Armed Forces, traditional strongholds of reaction.

In these conditions, imperialist circles do not hesitate to resort to extremes in trying to hamper the natural development of our America and to achieve the realization of their vilest ambitions. The Chilean example proves that fascism is trying to rise again in America and to spread to other countries as a desperate means of checking the drive of the forces determined to achieve full national liberation.

The struggle presents itself as a difficult and complex battle, where all the forces that confront imperialism must play their role and where the revolutionary movement must use ways and means of struggle fitting the moment

and the concrete conditions of each country. Unity and mutual understanding among those confronting imperialism and reaction are of vital importance for victory in the great struggles ahead.

The rise and development of the Non-Aligned Countries' Movement represent a new element in organized opposition to the rapacious policy of imperialism. This movement has played an important role in international politics in recent years, and it is called upon to play an even more outstanding role as it deepens its anti-imperialist orientation and as a greater sense of cooperation, effective solidarity and unity of action develops among its members.

The new correlation of forces that exists in today's world, the combined efforts of the USSR and other socialist countries with those of the international working class, the national-liberation movement and all the peace forces have ensured new achievements for peaceful coexistence and international détente. This has forced imperialism to accept certain agreements, which are historic commitments, even though it has not changed its warlike essence nor given up aggression and the instigation of conflicts that imperil world peace.

The task today consists in making irreversible what has been achieved in the field of détente, advancing toward the achievement of a lasting peace for all countries equally. To

achieve this, there must be joint action by all the peoples of the world, all forces struggling for peace and peaceful coexistence, whose vanguard are the socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union.

This is the world context in which Cuba is striving to build socialism: it strengthens its institutions; develops its economy; raises the cultural and technological level, and the political and ideological education of its people, overcoming the consequences of underdevelopment to which it was subjected by centuries of colonial and neocolonial domination; practices a consistent international policy based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; holds the First Congress of its Communist Party and is ready to continue its endeavors in order to fulfill the programmatic objectives of its Revolution, directed toward the goals of socialism and communism.

III. NATURE OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

The revolutionary victory of January 1, 1959, altered in its essence the correlation between social classes in the country. The bourgeois latifundist bloc was displaced from political power. For the first time in our history this power passed into the hands of an alliance of the popular masses, in which the dominant role has been played by the interests of the working

class and of the working peasants, represented by the victorious Rebel Army and its revolutionary leadership.

A deep social revolution began.

The Cuban Revolution —while presenting a whole series of specific features deriving from concrete national peculiarities and conditions and the international situation in which it is unfolding— has taken place in accordance with the fundamental laws of the historical process discovered by Marxism-Leninism, and has confirmed the main Leninist theses on the revolution and the possibility of its uninterrupted course until turning into a socialist revolution.

There is no unsurmountable barrier between the democratic-popular and anti-imperialist stage and the socialist stage. In the era of imperialism, both are part of a single process, in which national-liberation and democratic measures —which at times have already a socialist tinge— pave the way for genuinely socialist ones. The decisive and defining element of this process is who lead it, which class wields political power.

January 1959 marked the beginning of the democratic-popular, agrarian and anti-imperialist stage of our Revolution, characterized by the adoption of a number of measures in response to the common interest of all classes

and sections of the people that formed the basis of the triumphant Revolution, defined with a Marxist criterion in Fidel Castro's historic statement *History Will Absolve Me:* "the 600,000 unemployed Cubans, the 500,000 agricultural workers, the 400,000 industrial workers, the 100,000 small farmers, the 20,000 petty merchants, the 10,000 young professionals. They are the people; those who suffer all misfortune and are, therefore, capable of fighting with all their courage!"

The fusion in the programmatic objectives of the Revolution,of José Martí's national revolutionary ideas and the Marxist-Leninist conception already shared by Fidel Castro and other leaders of the revolutionary movement prior to the attack on the Moncada garrison is embodied in the national-liberation and socially advanced nature of this stage of the Cuban Revolution.

Political prisoners were released. Political parties and groups accomplices of the tyranny were dissolved, the national and local State power organs were abolished and were replaced by revolutionary authorities, headed by a Council of Ministers invested with full executive and legislative powers. The former army and police, instruments of imperialism, were disarmed and dissolved, and replaced by the Rebel Army, the people in uniform, the guarantee of national sovereignty and revolutionary achievements. A depuration of the

judicial apparatus began, and the so-called *Tribunales de Urgencia,* established to repress political, democratic and revolutionary activities, were proscribed. Revolutionary Courts were organized to try and convict dictatorship henchmen, torturers, informers and war criminals. The power of the Mujal trade-union bureaucracy, which served the tyranny and the worst antiworker interests, was eliminated and provisional boards were set up to organize the election of new revolutionary union leaders by the workers themselves. Workers fired for political or social reasons were reinstated in their jobs. Rents were cut by 30-50 per cent, and telephone and electricity rates were reduced. The State undertook the construction of urban and rural houses. The property of embezzlers who had become rich at the expense of the public treasury and through other illegal business protected by previous governments, was confiscated, thus giving rise to State property as the embryo of the future socialist sector.

The enforcement of the Agrarian Reform Law in May 1959 was the most important and radical measure of this stage. It did away with the great latifundia, both those of foreign monopolies and of the national landowning oligarchy. It turned the land over to the working peasants, who, as tenants, sharecroppers, etc., had been exploited by the great landowners; the land of the great latifundia, in which wage

labor was used, was nationalized and was not subdivided but kept as large production units

This measure, which started the revolutionary transformation of production relations —the economic basis of society—, though in itself did not go beyond the national-liberation framework of the first stage, generated a process that, when implemented, led to the replacement of private ownership over a fundamental means of production such as land, by State ownership. Due to the class interests predominant in the leadership of the revolutionary State, this meant the rise of a sector which, in its development, would turn into the socialist sector of the economy.

With the implementation of the Agrarian Reform, imperialist interests were dealt a smashing blow.

The existence of a revolutionary power, representative in the first place of the working class and of the working peasantry, considerably speeded up social transformations, thus sharpening its class nature. The process of expropriating and transferring land ownership to the peasants was carried out rapidly, in a situation of an increasing upsurge of the revolutionary consciousness of the masses.

The extreme heightening of the class struggle in the country, intensified by the increasing attacks of US imperialism and the final alliance of all groups of the national bourgeoisie with

the imperialists, the oligarchy and their agents displaced from power, led to a rapid radicalization of the masses and of the entire revolutionary process.

Yankee imperialism, in its attempts to overthrow revolutionary power in the economic field, on July 5, 1960, decided to cut off Cuba's sugar quota in the US market.

At the same time, sabotage, assassinations and the organization of armed bands increased, and plots to murder Fidel and other revolutionary leaders followed one another, in coordination with the internal counterrevolution. The Revolution took immediate action: it armed the people, created the workers' and the peasants' militia and organized the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. Following its steady course, it responded vigorously to every act of imperialist aggression.

The statement contained in the First Declaration of Havana —on September 2, 1960— condemning the exploitation of man by man, was a herald of the socialist perspective.

During the second half of 1960, nationalizations of an anti-imperialist and socialist nature took place.

The Cuban Revolution entered its stage of socialist construction.

On August 6, the main US companies were nationalized and on September 17, so were all

US banks. On October 13, Cuban banks and the remaining foreign banks, and 382 large enterprises of national capital were also nationalized .

On October 24, as a response to the total embargo on Cuban products imposed by the US five days before, the remaining US enterprises were nationalized.

A few days earlier, on October 15, 1960, Commander Fidel Castro had declared that the Moncada Program had been fulfilled. The Revolution faced the now immediate task of socialism, and the construction of socialism in Cuba began.

A few months later, on April 16, 1961, on the eve of the Playa Girón landing of mercenaries, organized and supported by imperialism, Commander Fidel Castro —addressing a crowd of soldiers, militiamen and working people attending the funeral of the victims of the preceding day's bombing, the prelude to the mercenary attack— officially proclaimed the socialist nature of the Cuban Revolution. On the following day the people went into combat ready to shed their blood for the cause of socialism.

A specific characteristic of the transition from the democratic, popular, agrarian and anti-imperialist stage to the socialist stage in Cuba lies in the fact that it took place in a brief period of time and under the same rev-

olutionary leadership. The problem of political power had already been solved in essence from the very start for both stages of the Revolution.

In the first stage it took the form of a democratic revolutionary dictatorship of the popular masses: of workers, peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the other strata of the population, with interests opposed to imperialist and bourgeois-latifundist oligarchic domination.

Now, in the second stage, that of socialist construction, it has taken the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat in alliance with the working peasants and all the other strata of our society, with interests opposed to those of the capitalist regime.

The popular classes and sections —industrial and agricultural workers, working peasants, students and other elements of the radical petty bourgeoisie— who had joined the Rebel Army and the underground groups in the cities, defeated Batista's army and ensured from the very beginning the deeply radical nature of the Cuban Revolution. That is why, although some bourgeois elements took part in the Provisional Government that was set up in January 1959, they were never strong enough to impose a counterrevolutionary course. The true power rested with the Rebel Army and the popular masses led by Fidel Castro; on his becoming

Prime Minister, in February 1959, there followed a rapid elimination of the reactionary influence of these bourgeois elements that were part of the government.

The contradiction between the development of the productive forces and capitalist production relations, aggravated by the special characteristics existing in every underdeveloped country subjected to economic and political domination of imperialism, determined initial tasks that could not be faced by the weak and sold-out Cuban bourgeoisie.

Politically, it was necessary to rescue the precarious national sovereignty from imperialist domination and to achieve an adequate functioning of political democracy. Economically, it was necessary to break the structure of underdevelopment, carry out an agrarian revolution that would eliminate latifundia and the semifeudal traits in the countryside, do away with unemployment, raise the living standards of the masses, achieve the industrialization of the country. Socially, it was imperative to free the peasantry from the infrahuman living conditions, guarantee human labor conditions for the workers, eliminate illiteracy, give attention to public health, eliminate racial discrimination and the discrimination of women, achieve democratic rights for all manual and intellectual workers and meet a number of demands of the people for social justice.

As a first step an anti-imperialist, agrarian, democratic and popular revolution was necessary to resolve the contradiction between the demands of the development of the productive forces and of the existing production relations.

The national bourgeoisie was incapable of leading such a revolution because of its economic weakness, its subordination to Yankee imperialist interests and its fear of the action of the popular masses. This made it oppose even the measures of a national-liberation character of the first stage.

The interwoven economic interests of the Yankee monopolies, the bourgeois latifundist oligarchy and the rest of the national bourgeoisie would make any measure affecting any of these sections bring about immediate opposition and resistance of the bourgeoisie as a bloc. In conditions of economic and ideological domination by imperialism, measures that do not even go beyond the bourgeois democratic framework are generally rejected by the bourgeoisie of dependent countries. In these countries, the bourgeoisie fears that the development of the revolutionary process will inevitably lead to socialism.

This situation, in which the objectives of national liberation and of a democratic nature had to be implemented by the working class at the head of the State power, conditioned the close interrelationship between the meas-

ures and tasks of the first and the second stages of our Revolution and the uninterrumpted character of the transformations leading to the transition from one stage to the other in the context of a single revolutionary process

At the end of 1961, as part of this process, the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations (ORI) were set up as the first step toward the creation of the unitarian political instrument of the Revolution; they were the result of the union of the *Movimiento Revolucionario 26 de Julio*, the *Partido Socialista Popular*, and the *Directorio Revolucionario 13 de Marzo* on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. After some months of existence and errors of sectarianism analyzed by Commander Fidel Castro on March 26,1962, a process of reorganization was started that year turning the ORI into the United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba, which, in 1965, adopted the name of Communist Party of Cuba and organized its Central Committee, thereby consummating the unification process of all revolutionaries and developing the political and ideological awareness of the people.

The Cuban Revolution thus created a most fitting political instrument to guarantee its historical continuity and the attainment of the ultimate objectives of the working class and all the working people: socialist and communist construction.

A decisive factor in the strength and solidity of the process of our Revolution has been the unity among all revolutionary sections and leaders, and among the leaders and the people, achieved and permanently maintained by the rallying ability of the foremost leader of the Revolution, Comrade Fidel Castro, who has struggled constantly to ensure and enhance this unity.

IV. THE WORK OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

The Cuban Revolution:

— achieved true national independence, uninterruptedly going from the national-liberation and democratic-popular stage to the socialist stage, signifying the establishment of socialist social ownership over the fundamental means of production and, in its development, the abolition of the exploitation of man by man;

— nationalized and placed industries, the land, banking, communications, construction, transportation, and foreign and domestic trade at the service of the working class and of all the working people. Socialist social ownership covers all sectors of the economy with the exception of transportation, a small part of which remains private, and agriculture, in which, however, the State sector comprises more than 70 per cent of the country's agricultural land;

— gave the land gratis to the working peasants who had cultivated it as tenants, sharecroppers, etc.;

— nationalized the land of the latifundia, owned by US monopolies and the landholding oligarchy of the country, thus creating in the large non-parceled areas important State enterprises of agricultural production, and carrying out a true Agrarian Revolution. This makes possible the gradual and voluntary incorporation of the working peasants and their land in State agricultural production and encourages their voluntary association in agricultural cooperatives;

— eliminated unemployment, has ensured the right to work and is fulfilling the principle of "equal pay for equal work" without any kind of discrimination;

— has worked to solve the housing problem, brought down rents, enacted the Urban Reform Law, built a great number of housing facilities at an increasing pace, and created many towns in different areas of the country;

— swept away all manifestations of the repulsive racial discrimination;

— eliminated, from the outset, gambling, drug addiction, prostitution, and mendi-

city. These scars of capitalism have disappeared in our society;

— has ensured indispensable social security for both the aged and the permanently and temporarily disabled;

— has established free medical and hospital services for all citizens even in the most remote parts of the country, thus eradicating various diseases and significantly reducing mortality rates;

— has proclaimed and ensured the right of women to social equality, has created the premises for their total liberation and has laid out the adequate policy to fully achieve this objective;

— has ensured a happy childhood. In Cuba, only children have privileges;

— nationalized education, eliminated illiteracy and is carrying out a deep revolution in education both quantitatively, through the accelerated growth of the network of schools, and qualitatively by raising the teaching level and developing the pedagogical and educational method of combining study and work.

Approximately one third of the population are enrolled in the various levels and types of education in the country. Education covers all children without exception, the vast majority of adoles-

cents, hundreds of thousands of working men and women who follow courses for adults and courses of technical training for different levels and specialties;

— has ensured the right to sports for all the people and has eliminated commercialism in their practice and development.

The radically new social conditions in which physical education and sports and their mass character are developing have made possible important victories and first prizes in numerous sports at an international level, in spite of our relatively small population, and have contributed to strengthening the ties of friendship and cooperation with other peoples, for whom Cuba represents an outstanding example;

— has speeded up the great increase and the qualitative improvement of recreation and other social services for the needs of the integral development of man;

— has placed culture in its various manifestations at the service of the people, eliminating its elitist character, developing the purest elements of national culture and assimilating the great achievements of universal culture;

— has promoted genuine economic development, planned and proportional to meet

the increasing material and spiritual needs of man. Throughout these years, despite the economic blockade of imperialism and despite inexperience, the productive structure of agriculture has been transformed, developing an impetuous process of mechanization, substantially increasing the use of fertilizers and pesticides, introducing or developing new types of crops, which already occupy a significant place in agricultural production, such as citrus crops. The capacity of reservoirs has increased 152-fold as a result of the construction of numerous dams. Industrialization has forged ahead, with electricity generation increasing 2.5 times; fertilizer production, over 4.2; cement, 2.5. Entirely new economic branches have been created and developed as is the case of the merchant fleet, which has increased its tonnage 6 times, and fisheries, which have increased their catch 6 times; construction has increased 5.2 times. More highways and roads have been built than in the whole previous history of the country; nickel production has been doubled, great technological difficulties having been overcome.

The Revolution attained democratic liberties for all the workers by giving them the ownership over the fundamental

means of production, which is expressed through the increasing participation of the people in economic management and in decision-taking in matters concerning the country's economic and social development;

— eliminated the bourgeois judicial system and established a new law system based on socialist legality. The people take an active part in the process of elaborating and discussing their laws;

— has strengthened and perfected the new Socialist State and is establishing its Organs of the People's Power in accordance with the interests of the working people;

— has developed the defensive capacity of its Revolutionary Armed Forces and keeps its organs of State Security and domestic order on the alert to crush any sign of imperialist aggression;

— practices an independent international policy of fraternal, revolutionary, class friendship and close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp in accordance with the principles of socialist internationalism; revolutionary union with the Latin American and the Caribbean countries; militant solidarity with the countries of Africa and Asia; cooperation with all the

countries that respect our national sovereignty;

— defeated counterrevolution in all spheres: political, economic, ideological and military, and has made socialism in our country an irreversible historical fact;

— has developed powerful mass organizations, which have contributed to raising the ideological and political level of our people and are channels for the active participation of the masses in the revolutionary process;

— has forged the unity of all revolutionaries in and around the Communist Party of Cuba;

— has brought all our men and women peace of mind and security in the present and the future: they no longer fear unemployment, the uncertainty of a livelihood, illness without medical care or hospital service, seeing their children grow up without schools, undernourished and poorly dressed. arriving at old age without protection. And this security goes beyond what the Revolution has achieved materially;

— has developed a high political consciousness in our people, who understand and are fully identified with the Revolution, understand its dificulties and

errors, and struggle to overcome them, who have never lost their revolutionary enthusiasm and who have an extraordinary internationalist feeling;

— in brief, socialist transformation has enabled Cuban society to achieve a higher stage in the evolution of mankind and, consequently, has enabled each man to attain his full dignity.

PART TWO

PRINCIPLES AND PROGRAMMATIC OBJECTIVES

V. THE MAIN OBJECTIVE OF THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

The ultimate objective of the Communist Party is the construction of communism.

To achieve this purpose, the Communist Party of Cuba bases itself on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of two phases of communist society: socialism, or the lower phase, and communism, or the higher phase.

Socialism and communism, two phases of one socio-economic formation, have common foundations: social ownership over the means of production, no exploitation of man by man, work as a creative activity, work as a right and

duty for all, the operation and action of common socio-economic laws, the development of the economy according to a single plan, the same fundamental objective to be achieved: that of meeting the ever-growing material and spiritual needs of man and developing a new type of social relations, based on comradeship and mutual assistance to guarantee the full development of man.

Nevertheless, there are important differences between the two phases, which must necessarily be taken into account. The basic difference between the socialist phase and the communist phase lies in the level of development of the productive forces and the degree of maturity of production relations.

In the communist phase there will be only one form of ownership over the means of production: that of the whole of the people; class differences will have disappeared, all society will be made up of only one social type; there will be no substantial differences between manual and intellectual work, between town and country; labor discipline will not require legal and administrative measures; work will be man's first vital need and, thus, moral, social and human factors will become his sole motivation; commodity-money relations will disappear; the development of the productive forces will reach a qualitatively higher level; collective wealth will fully satisfy man's rational needs and will make it possible for

society to inscribe upon its banners the radiant principle of communist distribution: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs!" and the human being will have a higher culture and social consciousness.

In this phase, the State will wither away; it will cease in its function of "government of persons" and society will take over the responsibility of the "administration of things".

In the socialist phase, the ownership of all the people over the means of production is not yet the only one; there is also cooperative ownership; there are still class differences, differences between manual and intellectual work, between town and country; work is still, above all, a way of making a living and, consequently, material incentives are required along with moral incentives; commodity-money relations are still necessary, the development of the productive forces does not yet permit the full satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of man, and society still maintains the principle of distribution which ensures the closest combination between social and individual interests: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work".

In this phase, the leading role of the Communist Party grows and develops, and the State still exists as an expression of the interests of the working class in alliance with the

cooperative-farm peasantry, an alliance joined by intellectual workers, this resulting in the most democratic State ever known in the history of mankind.

There is a period of transition between capitalism and the socialist phase of the communist socio-economic formation, in which the existing State is that of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the course of which the life of society is transformed; all possibility of restoring capitalism is eliminated and socialism is built.

To build socialism means to eliminate all forms of private ownership over the means of production in the social economy and, with this, to form a single economic system, in which only collective social forms of ownership over the means of production exist; to reach a high level of development of the productive forces, at which social production is based on the mechanization of the main production processes —both industrial and agricultural— combining the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, and to obtain the corresponding levels in the productivity of social labor; to make Marxism-Leninism the ideology of the vast majority of the people, to make it a conviction, the predominant norm, the social conduct of man; in brief, to attain a total and final victory over the old exploiter classes.

The development of the new society throughout the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and of the two phases of communist society is an unavoidable objective process, subject to social laws whose violation or misinterpretation may even generate interruption and detours in social progress. The construction of socialism demands strict observance and conscious utilization of such laws.

The present Cuban society is in the period of construction of socialism; hence, the main and immediate programmatic objective of the Cuban people is that of continuing the construction of socialism on the scientific basis of Marxism-Leninism to reach the first phase of communist society.

This means:

— progress in building the material and technological basis of socialism, requiring the mechanization of the main productive processes of the economy; the growth of the productivity of work leaving far behind in all economic branches that reached in our capitalist past; the establishment of a productive structure of the branches and sectors of the economy to ensure a high and steady economic growth rate, assuring rapid and proportional development in electrification, the chemical industry, metallurgy, mechani-

cal and structural materials industries; the application of industrial methods in the principal aspects of agricultural production; the development of science and technology and their application in production; the generalized implementation of the Economic Direction System and its perfecting; the efficient work of the country's planning organs;

— the development and broadening of socialist production relations until they become the only ones, which leads, through a strict observance of the principle of voluntariness, to the gradual replacement of small peasant ownership by cooperative ownership or its gradual incorporation into ownership by the entire people;

— deepening the multifaceted education of the people, developing the political consciousness of the masses; raising their cultural level; strengthening socialist morality, which implies a high spirit of collectivism and an elevated attitude toward work, based on relations of fraternal and mutual assistance; the fulfillment of all the other social duties, of proletarian internationalism and of revolutionary patriotism; the achievement of the victory of socialist culture and ideology in social consciousness;

— the further development of the cultural revolution, which is at present being carried out in our country, to make all the values and achievements of universal science and culture and of those created by the socialist society in construction the property of the broad popular masses; to form a cultured and skilled apparatus for the direction of society; and in general, to form a society of fully developed human beings, in which science, technology and culture in general have a guiding position, as objectives of socialism and communism, the highest attainments of civilization;

— the perfecting of the Communist Party of Cuba as the main leader of the overall life of our society and the strengthening of the UJC and social and mass organizations;

— the perfecting of the democratic organization of the Socialist State.

With the fulfillment of these complex but noble tasks, we will have accomplished the construction of socialism in Cuba in its fundamental aspects and the socialist phase will begin. This will allow the working people of Cuba and its Communist Party to set higher objectives for the development and maturing of socialist society until the ultimate goal of

the working class and its party is attained: the arrival at the communist phase of society.

With the culmination of the construction of socialism, the Cuban people will fulfill a historic and imperative duty before the world proletariat and the peoples of Latin America: the building of the first socialist society on the American continent.

VI. ECONOMIC POLICY: CREATION OF THE MATERIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL BASIS OF SOCIALISM

Cuba inherited from capitalism a deformed economic structure with a backward agricultural basis and little industrial development, mainly concentrated in the sugar industry. That is why the economic policy of the Revolution is directed toward reorganizing and developing the economy to eliminate this structural deformation, toward developing national industry, toward diversifying and promoting agricultural production, toward boosting exportable lines of goods and the volume of exports, toward replacing imports and progressively raising the people's living standards.

Following the first stage of initial drive in which the focus of activities and the orientation of the investment policy were mainly directed toward the agricultural sector, and while working to create the necessary infrastructure in hydraulic, road and other construc-

tion works to set up the basis and conditions for the process of industrialization, the central task of the plans for the development and promotion of the national economy beginning with the coming 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan will be the industrialization of the country.

In this sense, it will be necessary to maintain the efforts to give the national economy an infrastructure responsive to the requirements of future developments.

The main task of industrialization is that of creating the necessary internal basis for the systematic development of the productive forces, supplying industry, land cultivation and cattle-raising with equipment and materials; of increasing the exportable resources; of substituting for imports; and of producing a wide range of commodities for the population.

In carrying out this policy, the major role belongs to the development of sugar production in view of our great dependence on foreign trade in which sugar is the principal item; therefore, new sugar mills will be built alongside the prime task of rehabilitating and modernizing the industry and the railroad transportation linked to it, with a view to improving their levels of efficiency and use of the installed capacities.

Nickel production will receive an accelerated drive, which entails important investments, both into the rehabilitation of the two

existing plants and into new plants for it to become an item of much greater importance in the coming decade.

The power industry will be developed. This requires installing new capacities for refining oil and generating electricity, including the construction of Cuba's first nuclear-power station, which appears to be the most economical solution and to hold out the prospect of greatest safety.

Geological research will continue, in search of mineral deposits, including oil.

The steel industry constitutes a basis for industrialization. It should become capable of supplying raw material to our engineering industry, the pivot of the plans for industrialization. The launching of steel production in the north of Oriente, the manufacturing of rolled metal and rolled steel sections in the next decade will enable Cuba to raise its steel base to the required levels. To this end it is imperative to carry on scientific research on the use of laterite iron ore deposits and the search for new reducing agents more suitable for Cuba, which has no coal resources.

The chemical industry has an essential part to play in the efforts to turn Cuba into an industrial and agrarian country. The production of nitrogenous and compound fertilizers, the petrochemical plastics industry, the produc-

tion of glass and tires will be particularly developed.

With the by-products of the sugar industry, the bagasse pulp and paper industry and the artificial board and wood industry shall be developed and from molasses, the production of torula for animal feed.

The pharmaceutical and medical instruments industry shall be developed.

The rise in the living standards of our people will be directly influenced by the development of the textile and the footwear industries and of the food-processing industries based on land cultivation, cattle-raising and fisheries.

The reinforcement of the fishing industry with new and modern ships and the development of the canning industry shall be furthered to improve the food supply of the population, to raise its animal protein nutritional value and for export.

The production of durable goods, such as refrigerators, TV sets, radios, electric fans, and air conditioners, shall be increased or started, and the number of repair shops for such goods will be increased.

The development of construction work will be placed on a sound basis. Cement production and other lines of this branch shall be increased, so as to supply construction materials in the amount and of the quality required.

In construction work, the most modern techniques and the most advanced methods in the organizations of labor shall be introduced, raising the qualification of technicians and workers in this branch. Construction work must be accomplished with less time used for designing, execution, finish and delivery, while quality shall be improved and costs reduced.

Housing construction will gradually increase to meet the requirements of industrial and agricultural development, and to satisfy accumulated needs; educational, public health and public construction works shall be undertaken; the infrastructure of urban centers shall be improved and the policy of urbanizing rural areas continued.

Important investments will go into the construction of more secondary schools in the countryside and in the cities, and into the construction and repair of primary schools and higher education centers until the full needs of our country in this field have been met.

Special emphasis will be placed on the most efficient use of material and human resources on the principle of producing more and better at lower expenses. The growth of the industrial production volume shall be obtained with the raising of labor productivity, a better exploitation of installed capacity, the broadening and modernization of existing facilities, the opening of new and modern factories, the

growth of labor force and the raising of workers' qualification.

More resources shall be earmarked for the repair and maintenance of housing and industrial, agricultural, infrastructural and public buildings in general, with the aim of keeping them in good shape and extending their useful life.

Economic development requires more transportation, both freight and public. Road freight transportation, and urban, rural, inter-city and interprovincial passenger transport shall continue to develop. Special attention shall be given to large cities such as Havana and Santiago de Cuba, where efficient comprehensive passenger transport systems must exist. Freight transportation and public transport shall develop on the principles of safety, speed, reduction of waiting time and punctuality in the observance of itineraries.

The number of highways and roads shall increase considerably, and resources shall be earmarked for the maintenance and repair of existing ones. The national speedway shall be completed in the coming years.

Railroad transport as an important means of national transportation shall be increased. The reconstruction of the Havana-Santiago de Cuba Central Railroad shall be completed in the coming years.

More attention should be given to air transportation, including the servicing of airports. Important investments are to be made in extending and modernizing port facilities, with highly productive techniques. Shipyards are to be built and enlarged and the merchant marine is to be reinforced with modern liners and also with coastal vessels.

A system of cable and microwave communications is to be installed, so guaranteeing a more efficient service.

Radio and TV broadcasts are to be improved so as to cover the entire country. Color TV is to be introduced; the telephone network is to be modernized and enlarged; and postal, telegraph and radiocommunication systems are to be perfected, their efficiency and speed increased and the first stage of the electronics industry is to be developed.

National tourism is to be promoted and, to a certain extent according to economic and political considerations, so is international tourism, for which important investments in the construction of new centers and facilities to accommodate national and foreign visitors are to be made.

The country is to make important investments in the agricultural sector for the purpose of meeting the people's growing consumption demands, of supplying industry with raw materials, of reducing food imports and

building up export stocks. With regard to the objectives mentioned above, the policy of development is basically to aim at achieving increases in the output of rice, milk and meat as substitutes for imports; in sugar-cane, citrus-fruit and tobacco production, to build up export stocks; and in root-crop, vegetable, meat, egg, fruit, coffee production and others, to supply the population.

In order to achieve this objective, it is necessary in the coming decade to use for this purpose the required arable land, with adequate allocation of technological equipment and a rational distribution of area by plantation. It is necessary to mechanize as much as possible planting, cultivation and harvesting of the main productive lines, especially sugar-cane, and various cattle-raising activities. It is also necessary to continue making large investments into the improvement and fertilization of soils, the use of pesticides and other chemicals, the construction of storage lakes and irrigation systems, giving priority to the latter. It is necessary to research and introduce new cattle breeds and highly productive seed varieties, to improve the forms of production in the peasant sector and to establish effective economic relations between the State and private and cooperative sectors in the countryside.

In the foreseeable future, sugar cane is to remain our most important crop and the raw-material source for our key export industry.

After fulfilling the sowing plan for the next five-year period, the total sugar-cane area must be stabilized, with a gradual increase in the yield per area and the mechanization of all lifting and of more than 50 per cent of the cutting.

The advance of cattle-raising is an inseparable part of the objective of reducing food imports and of raising the nutritional diet to the highest level by increasing the proportion of animal proteins. For this purpose, great efforts are further to be made to develop poultry farms and to increase the cattle population in general and horned cattle in particular, based on breeding improvement and increased yield, in order to ensure a steady increase in meat, milk and egg output.

Cattle-raising development will require an improvement in the technical basis and in the handling of the cattle population, a growth of and continued attention to an adequate and vital feed base, and veterinary services and research aimed at improving breeding, in accordance with economic objectives.

Important resources are to be allocated to the construction and enlargement of warehouses, cold-storage and other facilities, and of industrial processing plants that the rise of foodstuff production will demand.

The development of the agricultural sciences and their application in production is to be

promoted. Research institutes, experimental stations and agricultural teaching centers are to play an important role in this respect.

Agricultural production is to develop mainly through the intensive method —increasing labor productivity, crop and cattle yields, and reduction of costs— and by making use of the advantages that the extensive methods still offer, incorporating more arable lands in the process of production.

Special attention will be given to a more rational use of agricultural machinery and the exploitation of its potential capacity.

Economic relations and commodity exchange between the State, the peasants and the cooperative farms is to be reinforced by means of an adequate system of purchase-and-sale prices, credits and taxes. The State is to supply the peasant and the cooperative farms with industrial products for personal consumption, equipment, materials and technical services and they in turn are to supply raw materials for industries and, above all, foodstuffs for the population.

The development of the national economy, especially of new investments, is to be carried out with an eye to an appropriate distribution of the productive forces in the various development areas. The territorial distribution is to be made according to convenience in each case, bringing production centers, whenever

possible and advisable, closer to their raw-material sources, to their labor force, to the means of communication and to consumer areas. In so doing, it is necessary to take advantage of the historically rooted demographic concentrations and to develop new urban centers. It is also necessary to bear in mind the existence of port facilities and the availability of water-supply sources.

The system of the technico-material supply of the means of production —machinery, equipment, raw materials, fuel, etc.— is to be reorganized on rational economic principles by means of a national network ensuring efficient movement in the supply of these resources. With this purpose, modern warehouses are to be built throughout the country.

As a requirement of technological development in the different branches of the national economy, and especially as a demand of the industrialization process being promoted, a national system of standardization, metrology and quality control is to be set up and developed to guarantee technological discipline and quality of production of intermediate products used in the production process, of consumer goods for the population, and of those that make up the nation's export stocks.

The embellishment and development of Havana, as the nation's most important economic, political, cultural and artistic center, is to be

promoted; a rational demographic policy is further to be implemented in the capital of the Republic. Here investments will be concentrated on building up service and production centers with high technical standards and remodeling the city, building new houses and extending and modernizing the water-supply, electricity and gas systems, the means of communication, the urban transportation system, the retail trade network, commercial shopping centers and public services, and recreational, sports and cultural facilities. Equal attention is to be given to the development of Santiago de Cuba, the cradle of the Revolution, and to the other capitals of the various provinces.

Special attention is to be given to the real purchasing power of the Cuban *peso*, which is to be based on an adequate balance of income and expenses of the population, in such a way that the paid-up demand of the latter is adequately balanced with the available stocks of goods to ensure a rational and adequate rise in the living standards.

With the growth of the productive forces, the development of foreign trade, the growth of production, the attainment of a domestic monetary equilibrium and the general application of payment according to the quantity and quality of work, the area of distribution in which rationing must be kept is gradually to diminish. Rationing will be restricted to essentials whose

supply does not yet meet the increasing needs of the population in a market freed from rationing and at prices within the reach of all, taking into consideration that it is and it will always be a fundamental concern of the Revolution that in the distribution of essentials, they should also be available to families with lower incomes in accordance with the principle of social solidarity and justice.

Earned income is the main source for meeting the material and cultural needs of the workers. An important element in the money balance is the salary policy, which is to be established on the basis of the quantity and quality of work. Special attention is to be given to the scientific organization of labor and to perfecting the salary system. There is to be a gradual rise in the lower salaries and the national average salary, taking into consideration that the rate of salary rise must be lower than that of the growth in labor productivity. In this period, the cash incomes of the population will play a most important role in raising the well-being of the people, according to the existence and use of commodity-money relations under socialism.

An increasing part of the workers' needs are to be met through social consumption funds, especially those allocated to public health and educational activities, which are gradually to increase.

Special care will be taken to make a more efficient use of material and human resources, based on the principle of more and better production at minimum expenses.

The production-volume growth will be attained by enlarging and modernizing the existing facilities, opening new and modern factories, increasing the active labor force and placing special stress on the maximum use of the installed capacity.

Nevertheless, the productivity of labor is to play the most important role in the increase of social production, which is why attention should be focused on more extensive mechanization of productive processes; gradual application of automation, specialization and concentration; systematic betterment of quality; improvement of sector and territorial distribution of the productive forces; the most rapid introduction of scientific and technological advances in production; the elevation of workers' qualification and the perfecting of the scientific organization and direction of the production processes and of the salary system.

The raising of the people's living standards ultimately depends on the increase in production and social productivity of labor, which is why intensive efforts are to be put into making full use of all the possibilities of socialism to achieve their steady growth.

The Party is to promote —through the various State organisms— work directed towards a definition of general long-term development lines to allow concrete orientation for the elaboration of five-year plans. The strategy of long-term economic development is scientifically to establish the overall objectives to be achieved according to various alternatives. For this purpose, development forecasts in science and technology, demography —including skilled labor—, the external sector, natural resources and their use, prices and distribution relations, and so on, are to be worked out over a longer prospect than the five-year plan periods.

The strategy of economic development is to be an instrument of exceptional value in bettering the quality of planning.

The Communist Party of Cuba is to continue firmly to apply the policy of broadening and deepening economic relations with the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community.

Within the framework of the CMEA, agreements among Cuba, the USSR and other socialist countries have been concluded to achieve a significant development of the nickel production in northern Oriente. Similarly, other possibilities of mutually beneficial cooperation are being similarly analyzed with the aim of supplying primarily the socialist markets, and

increasing Cuba's financial and import potentials in foreign trade.

Economic relations with the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and Africa are also to be developed.

The positive trend towards the national recovery of natural resources going forward in Latin America and the Caribbean in recent years creates the possibility for Cuba's participation in the commercial and economic associations which may emerge in this area, cooperating with the integration plans which develop on this continent.

Taking into account the needs of our economy in relation to technology and raw material imports and the possibilities of commercial exchange, Cuba is to continue developing and broadening its economic relations with all the developed capitalist countries striving, in coordination with underdeveloped countries, to secure adequate prices and fair terms of trade, and always on the basis of scrupulous respect for national sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs.

VII. ECONOMIC DIRECTION AND PLANNING SYSTEM

The need to adopt and apply an adequate system of directing and planning the economy throughout the whole country is determined by the increase in the volume of social pro-

duction, the growing complexity of relations among its different links, the purpose of meeting the people's growing requirements and of offering our solidary assistance to the development of other peoples and by the demand, in this context, to use material, labor and financial resources in the most rational way and with the greatest efficiency.

In contrast to capitalism, socialism does not develop for the pursuit of profit nor does it organize its productive apparatus in disregard of the social- and human-use value of its goods and services. It seeks to meet the material and spiritual requirements of the human being according to the objectives of a just society whose economy operates for man's material and moral well-being. But, at the same time, it is to seek that its productive apparatus should function with the utmost efficiency, using the most adequate methods and putting into practice the solid principles of Marxism-Leninism and the rich experience gained in the construction of socialism by the international revolutionary movement in the past decades, applying it with a creative spirit to our concrete conditions.

The economic direction system should be based on the recognition of the objective character of the economic laws of socialism; on the need for centralized planning, together with autonomy for enterprises in their economic and operational management; on the

existence and most efficient utilization of commodity-money relations and of the law of value including state enterprises adequately using finance and its categories: state budget, credit, price, cost, profit, profitability, etc.; on the principle that enterprises should, as a rule, recoup their outlays on the basis of their incomes and, besides, create a surplus or surplus-product, which would not necessarily exclude the possibility that certain production centers, because of their character, importance and the specific circumstances of their activities, are subsidized by the rest of the national economy; on the utilization of a proper combination of material and moral, individual and collective incentives and on remuneration according to the quantity and quality of work, a principle applicable both to individual workers, brigades, etc. and to enterprises as well.

The application of the system is to go hand in hand with the essential task of preserving and developing our workers' political, revolutionary and communist consciousness by means of the systematic spread of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, development of voluntary work and socialist emulation as effective instruments for our workers' education in new morality and attitude towards work, and by means of a broad system of moral incentives as social recognition of vanguard and outstanding attitudes.

The system is decisively to contribute to the development of economic consciousness among the leading cadres of the Party and the State, and among the workers, and to ensure active participation by workers, peasants, cooperative-farm peasants, employees, technicians in the elaboration of the pertinent economic plans and the control of their fulfillment.

The principle of material, individual and collective responsibility for non-fulfillment, errors and deficiencies is to be an important aspect of the system.

The system demands an adequate planning system which is the path for the development of the socialist relations of production.

Planning is the keystone of the direction of the national economy. It should objectively reflect the processes taking place in the economic and social life of the country and exert an active influence upon them, through a steady elevation of its scientific level, so as to do away with every sign of voluntarism and subjectivism.

The perfecting of the system of statistical information according to the needs of elaboration, control and analysis of the fulfillment of plans, should prevent unnecessary information and duplication; the strengthening of discipline in the fulfillment of economic, administrative and statistical regulations; and the correct training and selection of qualified cadres for

the posts of economic direction and planning in organs and enterprises are basic factors for the betterment of quality in planning.

Planning should accurately guide and control the volume, structure and dynamics of the principal economic indicators, guaranteeing the establishment of the most adequate proportions among the sectors, branches, spheres and parts of the national economy.

Planning is a single system which should integrate, in the most rational way, the plans of the enterprises and branches with the plan of the national economy, and guarantee the correct territorial proportions and distribution of the productive forces as an important factor in the application of economic and social policy. For this purpose, economic and administrative mechanisms combining the required centralization and enterprise autonomy and initiative, the intermediate links and the local organs of the People's Power should be instrumented.

The planning of investments, the correct evaluation of their economic efficiency and the reduction of building and starting periods together with the strictest control and analysis of their implementation and of true result are particularly important.

The development of the socialist economy requires the use of modern methods of electronic computing in the planning, information,

control and direction of economic activity, which implies gradual introduction of electronic computing systems, whose application should be technically and economically based, to ensure economies in social labor as compared to traditional methods.

The introduction of the system throughout the country is to bring about deep transformations in all fields, among which the following stand out:

— creation of new State organisms to assume the responsibility for directing prices, finance, arbitration, technical and material supplies, and so on;

— establishment of commodity-money relations in the State sector, the most adequate mechanisms for this purpose and their constant perfection;

— establishment of an accounting system which, while maintaining the flexibility that the differences among the various economic activities demand, is to ensure the necessary uniformity for analysis and planning at all levels, and its constant improvement as a means of financial and registration control;

— introduction of a State budget system both at national and at lower levels of the People's Power and the steady perfection of the methodology for elabora-

ting the budget and its role as an effective means of exercising strict monetary control over the economic activities of the State;

— introduction of an adequate price system as an instrument for directing the economic policy of the State, as an element of redistribution of national income and a factor in the policy of encouraging State enterprises, cooperative farms and individual peasants;

— reorganization of the banking system so as to make it adequate to its new functions, including the granting of credits as a means of utilizing the temporarily uncommitted monetary resources, and as a way of steadily strengthening financial discipline and control;

— elaboration, application and perfection of a planning methodology and of a system of economic statistics which while meeting the demands of the Economic Direction System are an adequate way for its efficient functioning and development;

— rational organization of enterprises and their gradual incorporation within the System to make them efficient basic units of economic accounting and allow their further development;

— elaboration of norms for inventories, material consumption and labor expenditure for enterprises and branches of the national economy and their constant supervision and perfection as an important factor in increasing the efficiency of economic activity;

— the urgent and systematic training of cadres, and intermediate- and higher-level technicians capable of directing and managing the economy;

— elaboration and adoption of juridical documents regulating the introduction, functioning and further development of the Economic Direction System.

The Economic Direction and Planning System is a powerful and indispensable instrument for building socialist society. Its introduction is to mark the beginning of a long process of perfecting and developing all its aspects. The uninterrupted observation and analysis of its functioning and its systematic adjustment to the level of development of the productive forces and to the socialist production relations constitute a fundamental task.

VIII. LABOR AND SOCIAL POLICY

During all these years, the Revolution has endeavored to better the living and working conditions of the people. Today, every man and woman is guaranteed the right to work and

to be protected against lay-offs; to an eight-hour working day; to labor protection, safety and hygiene; to paid rest; to a retirement pension; to security in case of disability and to social security in case of illness or motherhood.

The basic services that preserve the peoples's health, that guarantee the formation and education of children and youth, that contribute to raising the cultural and technical level of the workers are now provided free of charge.

Unemployment, the dead season in the sugar industry, eviction, illiteracy, discrimination by race or sex, and all that was engendered by the capitalist system turning man into an enemy of man and generating starvation discipline as the discipline of labor have gone for good.

Our labor policy is outlined within the framework of the economic principles and laws that govern the stage of socialist construction. The consistent application of the principle of socialist distribution "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work", is to be the guideline in this activity.

This policy implies the development and perfection of the salary system and of labor organization and standardization on a scientific basis; the raising of the workers' technical and professional level; the development

of material and moral incentives on the basis of individual and collective work results.

An employment policy is to be applied that is, as a whole, to make the workers' individual interests identical with the social interests, using moral and material motivations to orient labor towards the sectors and branches of the economy and regions of the country where it is most necessary, and conditions for economic development are to be increasingly created for involving growing numbers of women in social work.

It is necessary to create and strengthen a conscious socialist labor discipline, based on cooperation, mutual assistance, and transmission of experiences in the political, cultural and technical development of the workers. In this sense, our activity is to be directed toward the development, deepening and perfecting of socialist emulation, the innovators and rationalizers' movement, and voluntary work, an expression of a new consciousness upon which labor discipline is based under socialism.

Unremunerated voluntary work for the benefit of the whole of society, promoted in this country chiefly by Che Guevara, is, due to its character, an expression of the communist consciousness of our workers. Its promotion and development on the basis of economic rationality and efficiency is to be a permanent

task of our Party, a duty to be fulfilled by the trade unions and other mass organizations, and a responsibility of the State organisms and enterprises so as to create the necessary conditions and offer the necessary support to achieve its adequate fulfillment.

To protect the people's health is a permanent task in our country. In order to achieve this, the Party considers it necessary:

— to broaden and perfect the national-health, and medical and hospital care system; to develop preventive medicine; to promote rural medicine; to further studies of labor medicine and its application to the treatment of occupational diseases; to raise the sanitary culture of the people; and to encourage the practice of physical culture, sports and recreation;

— to emphasize the preservation of the environment and of natural resources; to prevent their pollution; to establish the required legal and sanitary regulations to attain this objective and to take the necessary measures to ensure full compliance with them; to improve the hygienic-sanitary conditions in urban and rural population centers; to perfect the labor protection, safety and hygiene system;

— to guarantee a secure and happy old age by broadening the network of homes for the aged, developing the social security system and creating the conditions for the pensioned to return to social work if they desire to do so.

The Revolution laid the basis for women's liberation and it is the task of the Party at this stage to achieve their full social equality, to increase their participation in social work and their promotion to leadership posts. With regard to this objective new day-care centers, day nurseries and boarding schools are to be created; public services contributing to a reduction in household chores are to be broadened and improved; steps are to be increasingly taken to ensure the supply of household appliances. All of this, parallel with the education of women is to help their full involvement in all social activities.

The Party dedicates special attention to the family as the basic cell of society. It is fundamental for the family to adopt as its own the principles of morality and education upheld by our Revolution, gradually eliminating the elements of material dependence among its members, and consolidating itself on the basis of common spiritual interests.

Family and social education are to be ever more firmly linked in the formation and edu-

cation of the new generations, thus creating all the conditions for greater participation by family members in social work.

Housing is one of the most critical social problems that mankind now faces; nonetheless, socialist society has made its solution one of its main goals. Efforts and resources are to be allocated for more extensive housing construction in order to overcome the existing housing shortage. A specific construction program is to be prepared on the basis of a single long-term development plan of the country's cities and towns, taking into account that the expansion or creation of a community must ensure conditions for work, life, leisure and the overall development of its population.

Our people's well-being and cultural development is to be determined in ever greater degree by the quantity and quality of the services they receive. With this objective in mind, cultural, recreation, sports and leisure centers are to be enlarged and improved.

All activity guided towards eliminating the remnants of the social vices inherited from the bourgeois regime is a task of vital importance. Consequently, measures are to be taken to combat and eradicate the remaining expressions of antisocial behavior.

IX. POLICY ON EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND CULTURE IN GENERAL

Education

The educational policy of the Communist Party of Cuba is based upon Marxist-Leninist conceptions and Martí's principles concerning the education of the new generations.

The purpose of education is to shape the new generations in the light of the scientific, ideological and moral principles of communism, making of these principles personal convictions and habits of daily behavior, promoting fully developed men and women fit to live and work in the new society.

Accordingly, the educational policy defines the following as its fundamental objectives:

— to form fully developed personalities fit to receive and enjoy the achievements of national and universal culture, thus contributing to their development;

— to train skilled workers and cadres with the required qualifications to assume the responsibilities that our economic, social and scientific and technological development demands, capable of applying the new constantly developing production techniques, active agents in the further development of the produc-

tive forces and of the production relations;

— to educate children and youth in our people's revolutionary, labor and cultural traditions, instilling in them a high sense of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism; to prepare them for actively defending the Homeland and for struggling against all manifestations of bourgeois ideology and morality;

— to encourage the links of children and youth with the men of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and the Ministry of the Interior, staunch defenders of our people's great achievements;

— to promote the systematic practice of physical education and sports, and also a massive participation in recreational activities, which constitutes an important element in the integral formation of our people, especially of children and youth.

In brief, our policy is to prepare the new generations to act as full-fledged men.

In the past few years, great impetus has been given to the practice of the principle of combining study and work as an important element in the integral formation of our youth. The development of this principle in our education pursues a two-fold purpose: formative and productive.

Through the State educational organisms and with the support of the UJC and the mass organizations, particularly student organizations, the Party is to work for the fulfillment of the formative and productive aims of the work-study combination. To this end, the most suitable ways of linking the one with the other according to the different educational levels are to be selected, thereby facilitating that in technological and professional education and in higher education the work be done in the most adequate activities and professions, in accordance with the specialty in which youth is being trained.

It is a task of the Party and of the State to promote within regular education, polytechnical education, whose role grows day by day under the current scientific and technological revolution.

It is necessary to work intensely at an initial stage to create conditions for moving to nine-grade compulsory general education with the prospect of its future extension. This is to be determined according to the possibilities, needs and interests of the socio-economic development plans and the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution.

The school is to play an ever greater role as a multilateral formative center for children and adolescents, with the active participation of political and mass organizations and the

decisive cooperation of the family. For this objective, a steady effort is to be made in perfecting the national educational system, raising the qualifications of the teaching personnel, enlarging and improving present facilities and creating new ones. In this sense, special attention is to be given to the quality and strengthening of elementary education as the basic link of the teaching-educational process.

The State education organisms, in coordination with the social and mass organizations, and with the decisive cooperation of parents, are to carry on intense work for superior educational and academic proficiency and higher teaching results. Special attention is to be given to the rural and mountainous regions, where the most complex situations arise.

The perfection of the training of technical cadres, both intermediate and higher, and the raising of their professional qualifications in accordance with the demands of the level of the organization, direction and development of the national economy, constitute a fundamental objective of the educational policy. Consequently, technical and scientific rigor is to be increased at study centers of different levels. The technical and teaching equipment and all the study aids and other facilities for these educational centers are to be gradually increased and improved.

The organizational structure and direction of higher education is to be so adjusted as to constitute a coherent system of educational centers; with adequate structures of specialties and objectives corresponding to the planning of development and including universities, institutes and specialized schools to meet the demand of higher education graduates with greater efficiency.

Special attention is to be given to the measures that must be taken to ensure the adequate stability, high qualifications and continued advancement of the teachers and professors at the intermediate- and higher-level centers; to the effort to reduce the number of early school-leavers and to improve the students' records and level of instruction, and the quality and level of graduates.

The construction of socialism in Cuba under the contemporary scientific and technological revolution demands that the higher-level graduates should systematically continue raising their qualifications, and that syllabuses be periodically adjusted. For this purpose, post-graduate courses are to be organized in the various specialties and a single system of scientific degrees is to be established.

Educational, State, political, social and mass organisms are to give their most active support to adult education, particularly to help workers to study without leaving their jobs.

Teaching personnel must receive a firm political and ideological Marxist-Leninist grounding and scientific and technico-pedagogic knowledge in accordance with their responsibilities. In this regard, the necessary measures will be taken to ensure that all teachers attain the levels demanded by the high mission they fulfill.

Artistic and Literary Culture

Socialist society demands an art and a literature which, while providing aesthetic enjoyment, contribute to raising the people's cultural standards. A highly creative atmosphere should be attained to develop the progress of art and literature as a legitimate aspiration of the working masses. Art and literature should exalt the highest human values, enrich the life of our people and play an active role in the formation of the communist personality.

The cultural policy in the field of artistic and literary creation should stimulate the manifestation of art and literature with a class spirit on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. These principles have the following aspects: the assimilation of the best traditions of national culture; the critical incorporation, reelaboration and development of world culture; the utilization of the most diverse and creative forms of artistic expression; the reflection of

the world we live in and motivation of a creative outlook toward the future; the linking of art and literature with the life of the masses and their most vital interests; the rejection of the obsolete and anti-humanistic artistic and literary manifestations of capitalism; the education of man in a spirit of solidarity with all progressive and revolutionary movements.

Measures are to be taken to continue providing cultural facilities and their material basis such as the network of libraries, theaters, museums, cinemas, lecture halls and reading rooms, art galleries, culture houses; to further the publishing and press activity; to perfect radio and TV broadcasts; to develop film studios; to found and develop art schools and art workshops; to strengthen and forward the professional organization of Cuban writers and artists; to train highly qualified cadres at our higher centers and in the socialist countries; to rescue, protect and reevaluate our cultural heritage and to protect monuments and historical sites.

International cultural relations are to be broadened, particularly those with the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean. Special attention is to be given to relations with the socialist countries mainly through exchange of works of art, specialists and research workers, organization of cultural events and artistic co-productions, etc.

The arts amateur movement is to be promoted so as to contribute to raising the culture of the broad masses of the people and to bring about an upsurge of new values in the various art expressions. At the same time, work is to be done to add artistic education to the curricula of basic education so as to contribute to our people's overall formation.

Science

The raising of the people's educational level and the massive training of technicians became an urgent need with the victory of the Revolution. These facts constitute a basis for scientific development, which creates the conditions for accelerated development of the productive forces and the integral education of man.

The Party is to pay special attention to the promotion of scientific development and is to base its work in this field on the following fundamental principles:

— planned development of science and technology to serve social progress;

— appropriate combination of basic and applied research, with emphasis on the latter;

— assimilation and utilization of technologies and advances achieved by other countries;

— prompt incorporation of the results of research into production with an economic criterion;

— progressive build-up of the scientific and technological potential by developing human and material resources.

The creation and development of a national system of scientific and technological information comprising the utmost use of the international information the country receives and cooperation with friendly countries, especially with the members of the socialist community, are to be considered essential in implementing the scientific policy.

The training of highly qualified scientific cadres is likewise to be encouraged, both in national institutions and abroad, especially in the socialist countries.

The fundamental objectives of the scientific policy in the field of the social sciences are outlined in the work aimed at perfecting the scientific nature of the direction of society and its consistent development and, in particular, at developing the science of economics. These objectives are to be achieved through adequate orientation of social, economic and other research based on the general laws of the construction of socialism and communism, on the use of the experience of the socialist countries in these tasks and taking into consid-

eration the concrete conditions of our national development. At the same time, it is necessary to bear in mind that we are a Latin American country, and to devote special attention to America's realities.

Regarding the development of the natural sciences work is to center on research into the country's natural resources, their adequate protection and the possibilities of utilizing them in the economic and other spheres of national life. The specific objectives of research in the various branches and sectors of scientific activity will be defined, promoting adequate coordination among the various research and production institutions.

X. IDEOLOGICAL POLICY

Marxism-Leninism —the summit and highest achievement in the evolution of the economic, political, social and philosophical thinking of mankind, which made its own the banners of the struggle for freedom and the full dignity of man, the scientific conception of nature and society, the revolutionary theory and ideology of the working class— is the foundation on which the actions of the Communist Party of Cuba are based in successfully accomplishing its historical task.

In our people's struggle to realize its great socio-economic achievements, an important

ideological transformation has been taking place, expressed in the triumph of the ideas of scientific socialism in our Homeland.

However, the defeated classes, together with imperialism, their main supporter, have not resigned themselves to the total loss of their privileges or given up attempts at bourgeois restoration. To this effect, they encourage, by all possible means, the ideological factors, feelings, prejudices and customs that favor their reactionary objectives and that might delay and hinder the advance of revolutionary construction.

On the other hand, as a result of the past bourgeois domination and of the existence of various strata in the petty bourgeoisie, attitudes and ideological conceptions originated and developed in the Cuban society, best typified by individualism, selfishness, localism, the tendency to take the easy way, irresponsibility before collective duties and social property, improper use of personal influence, a false concept of friendship, bureaucratism, lack of critical and self-critical spirit, instability and hesitancy, etc. Manifestations of some of these traits still subsist in the period of socialist construction and they provide a fertile ground for ideas alien to Marxism-Leninism.

In the present worldwide class confrontation —characterized by the turn to détente in inter-

national relations, as a result of the policy of the socialist countries and especially of the Soviet Union, the increase of the working-class struggle in the developed capitalist countries and the upgrowth of national-liberation movements— the ideological struggle is playing an ever more significant role.

In the field of the class struggle, particularly in the sphere of ideology, the fundamental political weapon of the international monopolies and national oligarchies is anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, its most common variant, especially favored as a mask by those who want to present themselves with certain leftist features. Their basic content is the falsification of working-class ideology, slanders against the theory and practice of the construction of socialism and communism, and the distortion of the policy of the communist parties.

Of particular importance also are revisionist tendencies and manifestations, whether they be of the right or the "left", which, although claiming Marxist or leftist positions, are objectively at the service of imperialist policy and seek to divide the progressive and revolutionary forces.

Tasks of the Ideological Struggle

The Party considers the main tasks for the communist education of our people and the in-

ternal and external ideological confrontation to be:

— the widest propagation of Marxism-Leninism and of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin and, at the same time, a deeper analysis of our publications and their function as propagators of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and as instruments for the communist education of the people;

— the defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism; the struggle against the conceptions and theories of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and its lackeys, underscoring the crisis they are in; opposition to and confrontation of all manifestations of ideological diversionism through the study of the scientific ideology of the working class and a knowledge of the laws of social development;

— the unmasking of insidious anti-Soviet campaigns, pointing out the decisive role of the USSR in the world struggle for social progress and in the creation of more favorable conditions for the struggle the peoples are waging for their final liberation;

— opposition to the concepts upheld by right-wing revisionists, who deny the class struggle and the leading role of the working class in the socialist revo-

lution, exposing them as shamefaced defenders of the bourgeois order;

— consistent combat against the political and ideological position of "left" revisionists and against dogmatism and sectarianism, unmasking the anti-Soviet "leftist" pseudo-revolutionaries as objective lackeys of imperialism and of the enemies of mankind;

— the education of our people in the spirit of revolutionary patriotism and of deep internationalism, based on the ties of friendship between Cuba and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and on the support for the struggles of the world working class and of the peoples for their liberation;

— the struggle to overcome the ideological remnants of the old society and its various petty-bourgeois manifestations;

— the struggle against the propaganda on the "advances of consumer societies", unmasking their enormous inequalities, their exploitative nature, their social consequences and their unavoidable economic ruin;

— the education of the people in the principles of socialist morality, based on fraternal relations of cooperation and mutual assistance among men, on the

development of a communist attitude toward work and social duties;

— the publicizing of the examples of vanguard collectives and workers, contributing to consolidating and generalizing the most heroic traditions of our workers;

— the struggle against bureaucratic manifestations, combining the work of ideological education with the participation of the popular masses and their organizations and of State and Party organisms;

— the deepening of a mass economic consciousness strongly dedicated to caring for socialist property, saving productive resources, and efficient management;

— the struggle against the prejudices and remnants of the past, which hinder the achievement of full social equality of women;

— the gradual overcoming of religious beliefs by materialist scientific propaganda and the cultural advancement of the workers;

— the historical and theoretical systematization of the Cuban revolutionary process, refuting false interpretations of it and proving that it follows the objective laws of social development and derives from the historical needs and conditions existing in our country;

— the explanation of the leading function of the Communist Party as the only force capable of directing the construction of socialism and communism;

— the publicizing and explanation of the nature of socialist democracy, of its representative institutions and of its superiority over bourgeois democracy in any of its manifestations;

— the formation of a revolutionary intelligentsia, fully identified with the interests of the working class and of socialism;

— the concentration of efforts and unity of action of all the mass media in all the areas of the ideological struggle, increasing the efficiency of our propaganda and, at the same time, improving coordination in this field with brother parties and revolutionary movements.

Education in the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the development of the ideological struggle in general must be closely linked with the concrete problems of the construction of socialism in our country in the economic, political, social and cultural fields and international relations.

The Study of Marxism-Leninism

Special attention shall be devoted to generalizing the systematic study of Marxism-

Leninism, which we consider an indispensable scientific instrument in succesfully carrying out the tasks of socialist construction, educating Party members and all the workers in the scientific conception of the world, successfully carrying on the ideological struggle, deepening the revolutionary consciousness of the people and confronting our enemies.

The leading role to be played by the Party in the construction of socialist society demands of its cadres and members the study of the principles of the working-class ideology to the required depth and in accordance with their functions. This will provide them with a solid Marxist-Leninist culture, which constitutes a permanent objective in the policy of preparation of Party cadres and members.

In the Young Communist League (Unión de Jóvenes Comunistas) the Party has its youth vanguard detachment and its most important source of growth, which determines the importance of and interest attached to the Marxist-Leninist preparation of its cadres and members.

The Party will promote the study of Marxism-Leninism on the part of State workers and mass and social organizations cadres and members.

One of the main educational objectives is the education of the new generations in a scientific world outlook and a communist attitude toward life. The Party will ensure a Marxist approach in the teaching of the sci-

ences and will see to it that the teaching of Marxism-Leninism is included in the educational system, underscoring its role as the guiding science that must preside over the development of our knowledge.

Special attention will be given to the Marxist-Leninist education of teachers, professors and workers in art and culture, who, due to the nature of their function, play an important role in the education of our children, youth and people in general.

In selecting the books and materials to be used and published, it shall be ensured that they be in accordance with the essential principles of Marxism-Leninism, alien to revisionist, dogmatic and pseudo-Marxist conceptions.

Attitude Toward Religion

Among the forms of social consciousness, religion is characterized by the fact that it is a distorted and fantastic reflection of external reality. According to the Marxist conception, religious manifestations and ideas can be overcome by transforming the world that they erroneously reflect, by eliminating the social causes that engender them and by developing educational work based on the scientific conception of nature, society and thought.

In its analysis of the question of religion, the Party takes into consideration two distinct

aspects: on the one hand, relations with different religions and their believers and, on the other, attitude toward religion as an ideology, as a form of social consciousness.

Regarding the first aspect, the Party upholds the principles of freedom of conscience, i.e., the right of citizens to profess a religion or not; the practice of religious cult within the observance of the law; the inadmissibility of the use of any religion to fight against the Revolution and socialism; strict observance of the law and recognition of the same social rights and duties for both believers and non-believers; scientific education and lay schooling; attention to the material problems of the religious facilities that require the support of State organs.

In relation to the second aspect, the Party's policy is subordinate to the struggle for the construction of the new society and the consolidation of socialist production relations. Its essential aspects are the systematic and patient propagation of the conceptions of scientific socialism among the masses; the non-use of anti-religious campaigns or coercive or administrative measures against religion; to reject any form of segregating believers, and to attract them to the concrete task of the Revolution; to demand of Party and UJC members that they achieve an ideological understanding in accordance with Marxist theoretical fundamentals.

In the international field, and especially in Latin America, the Party regards as positive the activity of many advanced and renovating Christian sections that participate in the struggles for national liberation, confronting imperialism and national oligarchies, and that, at the same time, display and publicize the success of the new life in Cuba and of its Socialist Revolution as examples to be followed.

Mass Media

The Party shall systematically guide and give attention to the mass media and foster the enthusiastic and creative participation of all mass-media workers basing itself on the Communists, on the activity of the trade-union movement and on the journalists' and writers' unions, so that radio, television, the press and motion pictures fulfill an ever more effective function in the political, ideological, cultural, scientific and technological, moral and aesthetic education of the population; in the conscious mobilization of the masses to fulfill the task of the country's socio-economic development; in providing information about national and international events, and in satisfying the intellectual and recreational needs of the people, especially those of the children and youth.

With the aim of further perfecting mass-media work and especially strengthening their

role in the process of socialist construction, the Party shall give them all its support and assistance in measures leading to the quantitative rise and qualitative improvement of the people's range of information and to the practice of criticism on political and ideological matters, on literary and artistic activity and on what concerns shortcomings or errors in economic and administrative management.

The Party shall improve the efficiency of established mechanisms and shall create the necessary ones to ensure that the direction cadres of mass media, journalists and editors, in fulfilling their specific responsibilities have at their disposal the broadest information on prospective plans and the progress of State activity and on the national and international policy of the Party.

XI. INTERNATIONAL POLICY

The objectives and nature of our Revolution, which coincide with those of the peoples of the world, determine the basis of the international policy of our country. Proletarian internationalism constitutes the essence and starting point of the international policy of the Communist Party of Cuba, which is based on the following principles:

— subordination, in the course of our foreign policy, of the interests of Cuba to the general interests of the struggle for

socialism and communism, of national liberation, of the defeat of imperialism and the elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism and all forms of exploitation and discrimination of peoples and men;

— unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, with the socialist countries, with the international working-class and communist movement;

— union and solidarity with the forces of the national-liberation movement;

— condemnation of all forms of opportunism, particularly the social-democratic form and the form that, using leftist phraseology, makes anti-Sovietism and division a weapon to hinder the acceleration of the cause of national liberation, of socialism and of peace, serving, in fact, the policy of imperialism and of reactionaries of all sorts;

— consolidation of bonds of cooperation in all fields with the countries of the socialist community to defend the achievements of the Socialist Revolution and to strengthen the world socialist system;

— promotion of détente and peaceful coexistence among states and the achievement of a peace that benefits all peoples and reaches every area of the Earth. It

shall determine its participation in international bodies and events accordingly, in response to the general interests of the peoples and of socialism;

— establishment of international relations in general, and of friendly relations with all states on the basis of the most strict respect for equality, sovereignty, independence and national and territorial integrity;

— recognition of the right of the peoples to attain, by all possible means, their true and final economic and social independence and to freely determine the socio-economic system in which they are to live;

— encouragement and support of all those who, in the capitalist world, struggle for social progress and for the elimination of the exploitation of man by man.

Consistent with these principles and conscious of the need to translate them into new and solid achievements of the international proletariat, of the world revolutionary process and of the socialist system, the Party defines as the main objectives of our country's foreign policy the following:

— to contribute to consolidating and developing the achievements of the Cuban Revolution, to guarantee the defense

of our Homeland and to ever more strengthen the international position of Cuba and of the socialist community;

— to develop and deepen the multifarious relations with the USSR and other socialist countries. In this direction, our country's participation in the CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) and the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Integration holds out the prospect of a higher level in the practice of socialist internationalism and in utilizing the advantages offered by the socialist international division of labor;

— to participate in the struggle against imperialism, as the principal agent of aggression and war and the worst enemy of mankind, and to contribute to eliminating all forms of colonialism, neocolonialism and other expressions of oppression and subjugation of the peoples;

— to work for the cohesion of the anti-imperialist struggle by uniting the forces that fight for social progress;

— to contribute to the development of the world revolutionary process and to the triumph of socialism in the world;

— to give all its support to the Movement of the Non-Aligned Countries by striving

within it for its unity and cohesion on the basis of an anti-imperialist policy and of the necessary unity among the non-aligned forces and those of the international socialist community as inseparable allies in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism;

— to oppose any direct or indirect imperialist interference in the internal affairs of any state, especially armed and economic aggression, and to oppose the imperialist policy of creating and stimulating hotbeds of war in various areas of the world;

— to render, according to our possibilities, economic cooperation and technological assistance to other underdeveloped countries of the world, whose governments sincerely endeavor to find adequate and just solutions to their economic and social problems;

— to work intensely for the consolidation of a just and lasting peace for all peoples, in accordance with the Leninist principles of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems; for halting the arms race, for general and complete disarmament, for the total banning of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, for dismantling the imperialist military bases in various

countries, and for the elimination of aggressive military pacts;

— to develop diplomatic and commercial relations with all countries, regardless of their economic, political and social regimes. With the capitalist countries in general, we shall maintain relations on the basis of the aforementioned principles, in conditions of full equality and complete respect for our sovereignty, excluding all sorts of intervention or interference in the internal affairs of our nation;

— to work to give concrete embodiment to forms of cooperation with the countries of Latin America and of the Caribbean, which lead to higher objectives of independence. To this end, Cuba tends to establish economically complementary ties oriented toward further integration with those countries with which we share a common history and struggle;

— to strive resolutely for the future economic integration and political unity of the peoples of Latin America and of the Caribbean, who have the mission of forming a great revolutionary community, which, due to its vast human and natural resources, is destined to occupy a worthy and honorable place in the world of tomorrow.

XII. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CUBAN SOCIETY

The political organization of our society is founded on the Marxist-Leninist conception and principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is based on the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry and all other manual and intellectual workers, under the hegemony of the working class and the direction of its vanguard detachment, organized in the Communist Party of Cuba.

The hegemonic role of the working class within the whole of the social forces which make up society is determined by the fact that it objectively is the most revolutionary class in history due to its position in the process of production; to its lack of association with any form of private ownership over the productive resources, which determines that it cannot liberate itself without at the same time liberating the whole of society; to its being a numerous class, highly concentrated, which allows it to reach a high degree of cohesion and organization and to acquire class consciousness; to its being the main productive force and the determining factor in modern industry and agriculture. Consequently, it is the objective bearer of a new mode of production, of social equality, of the abolition of classes and of exploitation, and is called upon to guide the whole of society in the process of the con-

struction of socialism and of the development of the socialist phase toward the higher phase of communist society.

Throughout its history, the Cuban working class, together with the rest of the working people, has given proof of a growing political maturity, class consciousness, ideological soundness, militant attitude and an internationalist spirit.

The worker-peasant alliance, generated by the material living conditions of both classes under the regimes of exploitation that our country suffered and by the confrontation of common enemies, forged and developed in the course of the struggles waged by our people from the wars of independence to the present.

The blood shed by the finest sons of these two allied classes in the common struggle along this path fused and consolidated its natural unity even more.

The Communist Party of Cuba, taking into consideration the decisive significance of this alliance and its historical roots and development, is working to maintain and strengthen it as one of the pillars without which the successful construction of socialist society would not be possible.

The Party

The Communist Party of Cuba is called upon to be the highest directing force of the Cuban society and of the Cuban State, to organize and guide the common efforts toward the construction of socialism and the advance toward communism. It has the responsibility of playing the role of organized vanguard of the working class, uniting free and voluntarily the finest sons of the people, selected from among the most conscious and outstanding workers.

The Party faces manifold tasks in attaining a higher political quality and in developing its directing role, aimed at perfecting the political organization of our society.

The struggle to realize the objectives embodied in the present Programmatic Platform and the mobilization of all the people to achieve them constitute the first great duty of the Party and its members.

To vigorously apply the Party Statutes and to instill in all its members their educational content.

To ensure that the guiding principle in the policy of growth of its ranks be that of quality and that it has a predominant working-class social composition, especially of workers directly linked to production and the services.

To perfect the policy of cadres' training, promotion and advancement, for which the system of Marxist-Leninist education and upgrading is to be developed and a procedure is to be established for promotion to follow an appropriate order, starting from the ground level and taking into account the politico-moral and technical and labor characteristics of each cadre; his qualifications, degree of consciousness and responsibility toward work; his political qualities and his organizing and directing ability. The work of the cadres is decisive in the quality of Party work.

To strengthen and perfect to the utmost the mechanisms of democratic centralism, in such a way that they should ensure and combine the broadest internal democracy and the strictest Party discipline, expressed in the following fundamental aspects:

— All Party direction organisms are elected, from ground level upward.

— All Party organisms must render periodic, systematic and regular account to those who elected them and to their higher organisms.

— All organisms must function on the basis of collective direction and individual responsibility, and of free discussion and the exercise of criticism and self-criticism in their midst.

— All must observe Party discipline, and the minority must submit to the majority.

— All decisions of higher organisms are binding and require unconditional compliance at lower levels.

— All organisms and organizations must meet regularly.

The Party's directing and orienting role with respect to the State and all of society is exercised through various means. The elaboration, by its higher organisms, of general directives on fundamental matters of the economic, social, political, and cultural development of the country, and on problems related to the various social sections, constitutes one of the specific ways in which such a function is discharged. The Party guides the work that the various institutions, organisms, organizations and the people in general must accomplish to implement the policy line; it controls its application; it formulates a policy aimed at achieving and ensuring the most appropriate selection and placement of cadres by various State, political and mass institutions; it conducts broad and systematic work of explanation among the masses on the aims of Party policy and it educates the people in the principles and the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. The activity of Party ground organizations and direction organisms, and of that of its members, is another principal means to be used in the

direction and orientation of the various State, social and economic bodies.

One of the Party's main responsibilities is to constantly and permanently maintain a live and direct relationship and communication with the entire working class and the rest of the working people, the one and only guarantee of its strength and authority with the masses and of ensuring that its policy conforms to their aspirations and the concrete demands of the country's development.

The Party ground organizations are the basis of the Party's entire organizational structure, and it is therefore necessary to work constantly for their development and improvement and to strengthen their links with the masses, so that their influence grows and they play an ever more important role in Party work.

In its activity and in its relations with State organisms, the UJC and the mass organizations, the only method the Party uses is that of persuasion and conviction, backed by its prestige and authority among the people and basing itself on the free and conscious acknowledgment of its leading role by the organisms and organizations.

The State

The Cuban State is a socialist state of workers and peasants and all other manual and

intellectual workers. It is part of the system of proletarian dictatorship, of which it is the most direct instrument, and whose resolutions are invested with binding juridical force for all citizens. It has a deep democratic character and institutionally guarantees the participation of the working class and of the rest of the workers in exercising the dictatorship of the absolute majority of the population over the minority, the former exploiters and their agents.

The State apparatus of our country is made up of various organs: the institutions representative of State power, which constitute the primary organs; the organs in charge of the administration and direction of the various activities, and the judicial and fiscal organizations.

The Cuban socialist State is organized on the basis of democratic centralism and guarantees the incorporation of the working masses in State activity.

During the present historical stage, the fundamental objective of our State is the construction and consolidation of socialism, for which it must cope with a number of tasks of utmost importance, namely:

— overcoming and crushing the resistance of the classes displaced from power and of their allies;

— organizing production and other economic activities and planning and controlling them;

— raising the material and spiritual well-being of the people;

— directing the cultural development and socialist education of the people;

— defending socialist property and legality;

— perfecting and constantly increasing the defensive capacity of the country;

— developing a foreign policy based on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

For the successful accomplishment of these tasks, the Party will devote its efforts to the process of institutionalizing the Organs of the People's Power and extending them throughout the country, and to developing and constantly perfecting our State apparatus in accordance with the provisions of our Socialist Constitution.

In the initial years of the coming five-year plan, a new politico-administrative division shall be established, taking into account as fundamental factors the area, population, geographical and historical elements and the prospective socio-economic development of each area of the country. The restructuring and future perfecting of the whole State apparatus

and of the political and mass institutions shall be carried out in correspondence with this new politico-administrative division, with the creation and further development of the Organs of the People's Power and with the implementation and perfecting of the Economic Direction System.

In perfecting the State, determined struggle shall be waged against all expressions of bureaucratism to trim down excessive personnel and enhance administrative efficiency.

The Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) constitute the unfailing armed bulwark for defending the Homeland against any possible imperialist aggression, whether direct or masked. The defense of the Homeland with arms in hand is a high honor and a compulsory duty for every citizen.

The Party gives and will keep on giving particular attention to strengthening the country's defense capacity, to maintaining the Revolutionary Armed Forces' mobilizing and fighting readiness and to the active participation of all the people in the defense of the revolutionary achievements and of national independence and sovereignty. Work will be continued to provide the FAR with modern means of defense and with the organization and discipline that will enable them successfully to fulfill the missions assigned to them. Growing importance will be attached to the uninterrupted

training of reserve officers, NCO's and men.

The Party stresses the role of the unitary command as one of the most important principles of organization within the FAR; it should ensure that its commanding, political and technical cadres be selected from among the best sons of the people and that they acquire a high politico-moral, military and technical training.

The chiefs and Party organizations within the FAR have the duty of carrying out permanent political work with the troops, and drawing them close around the Party; of educating them in the principles of proletarian internationalism; of tightening the links between the FAR and the people, and of developing solid patriotic convictions in the whole of the personnel.

The organs of the Ministry of the Interior (MININT) play an extraordinarily important role in protecting social property, in maintaining socialist community norms, and in opposing any attempt by the enemy to sabotage the development of the Revolution. The perfecting of these organs, the constant raising of the ideological, cultural and technical level of their cadres and combatants, and the strengthening and broadening of the link of their members with the working masses represent a most significant task.

The Party should zealously endeavor to attain the best perfomance possible in the direction mechanisms that govern the work of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and the Ministry of the Interior, in view of which the growing role and influence of their Party organizations is of great importance.

A decisive step in the process of institutionalizing and perfecting the State is the adoption of our socialist Constitution, which gives legislative enactment to the socio-economic and political transformations introduced by the Revolution and contributes to their strengthening and development.

In the process of institutionalization that is taking place in our country, the reinforcement of socialist legality, the complementing of legislation and codes based on socialist principles, the observance and strict compliance with the law by the various State and social institutions and their members and all citizens without exceptions, acquire extraordinary significance.

The leaders and members of the Party, the UJC and the mass organizations, the members of the Organs of the People's Power, the officials of State agencies and economic organizations must be the standard-bearers in observing the law and in demanding that it be observed.

The development and perfecting of our State in the stages of the construction and development of socialism shall lead to the communist phase, in which the State will wither away. As Marx and Engels pointed out, "public power shall lose its political nature", society will directly exercise the administration of its affairs. The complete withering away of the State will be a long process, in which internal conditions must be created and, in addition, adequate international conditions must exist.

The UJC and the Mass Organizations

The development and strengthening of the youth movement constitutes a priority task in our society. The Young Communist League (UJC), organically independent of the Party, has as its most important and central mission that of drawing the youth into the task of the Revolution and decisively contributing to their integral communist education, preparing them to enter the Party.

The UJC must carry out intensive activity directed at mobilizing the broad masses of the youth to fulfill tasks typical of them and those that derive from this Programmatic Platform; it must cultivate the moral principles of socialism in the conscience of the youth, and through the ever more important Union of Pioneers of Cuba (UPC) maintain and develop

the patriotic and communist education of our people's most precious reserve.

Mass organizations constitute a component part of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and represent the main transmission belts between the Party and the various sections of the population.

Trade unions organize the working class, the most advanced class in society. They are directly linked to production and the services and constitute —as Lenin pointed out— a school of administration and communism. That accounts for the outstanding and prominent role they play in the construction of the new society, within the complex of the social and mass organizations of the country.

Through the trade unions, the broad working masses actively participate in the solution of the various problems our society faces in its social and economic development; they are the promoters and the organizers of socialist emulation; they are a powerful instrument for the education of the workers in a new communist attitude towards work and social duty; and, as representatives of the specific interests of the workers, they keep watch over the implementation of the measures adopted by our government for the benefit of the workers.

Besides trade-union institutions, our people are grouped in different mass and social or-

ganizations which, as a whole, comprise the most varied sections, each of which plays specific and important roles.

The National Association of Small Farmers (ANAP) represents the interests of the working peasants and channels the participation of such an important social class in the construction of socialism. As a standard-bearer of socialist ideas among the peasants, the ANAP plays a decisive role in clarifying the advantages of the socialist forms of production and of their joining the Association, securing respect for the principle of voluntariness.

The Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR) rally and organize our adult population. Their activity aims at defending the Revolution, at increasing the ideological development of the broadest masses and at fulfilling and furthering a great many tasks within the community.

The Federation of Cuban Women (FMC) organizes the broad masses of women and expresses their interests and concerns. Its objective is to attain woman's full participation in economic, social, political and cultural life, and to promote their educational and politico-ideological advancement. Accordingly, its immediate task is to intensify, together with the other political and mass organizations, the struggle to create the objective and subjective

conditions for the total fulfillment of women's equality.

One of its tasks is, likewise, to work for the constant improvement of child care and education.

The Federation of University Students (FEU) and the Federation of Students of Intermediate Level Education (FEEM) carry out intensive ideological work among our young students —aimed at educating them in our heroic historical and internationalist traditions, in love of the working class, stimulating their interest in science, technology, culture and sports, and in the role they are to play as future technicians in our society— and, in general, guide the activity of the student masses within the framework of the achievements of the Revolution.

The Union of Pioneers of Cuba (UPC) —a big school in which our children prepare for the future and in which the revolutionary life of the men and women of the future begins— works together with schools to develop in children a sense of responsibility in fulfilling their social duties, especially their studies, to imbue them with patriotic and revolutionary feelings, to develop in them habits in accordance with the principles of socialist morality, and it undertakes the organization of extracurricular activities. Hence, this organization

is called upon to play a most important role in the education of future generations.

The National Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba (UNEAC) has the fundamental task of contributing to our artists' and writers' ideological and political development, to their professional advancement and to encouraging the works that help to enrich our people's national and the world cultural heritage. It also has the task of carrying out various activities to facilitate the working conditions of these professionals.

The Union of Journalists of Cuba (UPEC) has as its most important mission that of contributing to the ideological and political equipment of our journalists, to their professional and technical advancement, so that their work should make a valuable contribution in the spread and deepening of the work and ideology of our Revolution.

The Party is to give special attention to strengthening and developing all social and mass organizations, to their profound democratic content and to the perfecting of the mechanisms through which the Party and these organizations interrelate.

Socialist Democracy

These political, State, mass and social institutions, organisms and organizations con-

stitute, in their interrelation and in their complementary but diverse functioning, the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, through which the direction of our society is organized in its endeavor to build socialism and communism.

The Cuban people, by their free and sovereign will, systematically expressed on many occasions —even at the price of the blood of their finest sons, as was the case of Playa Girón, and at the risk of mass physical destruction, as was the case during the October Crisis in 1962— is determined to eliminate all forms of exploitation of man by man and to build communist society. For this it is indispensable to establish as the form of organizing the direction of society the dictatorship of the great working majority of the people over a minority made up of the exploiters and their allies, ousted from political and economic power.

This system also represents the broadest democracy for the workers, the peasants and the rest of the working people, who are now the owners of the means of production of the country and of the fruits of their work. They now have the opportunity of directly participating, for the first time in our history, in the government of society, in the discussion and adoption of their Constitution, in the discussion of the main laws which they will have to observe, of the main programmatic guide-

lines which are to orient the course of the country in the coming years, in the discussion of the production plans of their enterprises, and who later take an active part in their implementation and control through Production Assemblies and the other organizations which enable them to take part in the revolutionary process, having the possibility of expressing their specific interests on every occasion.

Our working people elect from within their midst their representatives to the highest institutions of State power of the country, the Organs of the People's Power, and have the right to recall them, whenever they fail to justify the trust placed on them. These representatives of the people discuss and decide upon all matters concerning them individually and collectively; they appoint and recall the State administrative officials, elect and recall the members of the executive organs at any time and elect and recall members of the People's Courts.

This socialist democracy is incomparably superior to any form of bourgeois democracy, under which the ostensible formal freedom always conceals the most exclusive dictatorship of the exploiting minority and of its allies over the broad masses of the people, who create the wealth but are victims of poverty and ignorance, deprived, in practice, of the most elementary democratic rights.

This socialist democracy constantly perfects and develops its mechanisms to ensure and facilitate the ever more direct participation of the working masses in the country's decisions, in State affairs and in the management of the economy, thus contributing to bettering the quality and efficiency of the direction of society and to developing collectivism and social responsibility, while creating ample and growing possibilities for the individual capacity and initiative of every member of society to find full expression, and for human personality to flourish in all its potentialities.

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